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THE
HISTORY OF THE REIGNS
OF
PETER III.
AND
CATHARINE II.
OF RUSSIA.



TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, AND ENLARGED WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND BRIEF MEMOIRS OF ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONS.

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THE LIFE
OF
CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

BOOK I.

ARGUMENT.

Introduction—Catharine is engaged in her projects of aggrandisement—She supports Biren in Courland—Panin is inclined to change the form of the Russian government—Bestuscheff dissuades the Empress from it, and wishes her to marry Gregory Orloff—A plot formed at Moscow against Orloff's life—A conspiracy against the Empress—The answer of Princess Daschkoff—Poniatowsky seeks to return into Russia—The birth of Bobrinsky.

WE have already seen Catharine, sprung from ¹⁷⁶² an obscure principality in Germany, advance towards a throne, upon the steps of which she remained tottering almost twenty years. We have seen her ascend this throne, suddenly precipitate the husband by whom she was exalted, and alone assume the reins of government with less opposition, by far, than she expected. We are now about to trace the rapid description of

her reign and private life: and in this double task our impartiality shall never be warped. The great qualities of Catharine's mind, her least defects, her brilliant actions, her most shameful weaknesses, we will by no means disguise. Not one fact shall be advanced of which we have not acquired the proof: but no veil shall cover those circumstances, which may tend to develop the character of a woman, who, notwithstanding the horrid criminality of her conduct, has, for a long time, captivated the admiration of Europe; and, in some degree, made partakers of her guilt a numerous list of celebrated men, prodigally lavishing upon her excessive praise.

Russia enjoyed, without, that peace which the unfortunate Peter III. had given to it, in the commencement of his reign, and which Catharine, by a suspension of hostilities against Denmark, had since confirmed: but the interior still breathed the same spirit of indignation and revolt, that suddenly agitated the empire, and gave rise to the late revolution. Neither the severe judgment pronounced upon the leaders of a mutiny among the guards, nor Catharine's affected clemency, were sufficient to stifle sentiments of hatred and revenge, always inspired by the exposition of glaring injustice.

Though Catharine endeavoured to dissemble the atrocity of her crimes, or rather flattered herself with the hope that her subjects might be ignorant altogether of the part she had taken in the murder of her husband; still she felt that the remembrance of his death could not be soon effaced, and the impression it left on the mind possibly weakened, but by splendid novelties, and enterprizes eventually prosperous. She knew, however, at the same time, that too many

obstacles yet impeded their execution, and that financial poverty and political wisdom imposed the necessity of peace.

From that moment, her thoughts were attentively occupied in the administration of her extensive empire; she studiously watched the progress of her commerce, the augmentation of her marine, and, above all, the fittest means of procuring money, without submitting to economical retrenchments. Her pride would not suffer a renunciation of Asiatic luxury, which, from the dawn of Elizabeth's reign, had overspread the court of Russia. She thought, also, that, in order to veil her true situation from foreign powers, until she could astonish them by her conquests, that very luxury itself was subservient to deception.

After having assisted her ministers, this Princess frequently discoursed, but always in private, sometimes with Bestuscheff, at others with Munich. One discovered to her the policy and resources of the different courts in Europe; the other communicated a plan, sketched out during his exile in Siberia, to drive the Turks from Constantinople; a plan that singularly flattered the ambition of Catharine; and which, thirty years after, we have seen her upon the point of carrying into execution.

She knew so well the extent of her own abilities, her courage, every combination of her power, that one day, in a confidential discourse with a foreign minister,* made rather to applaud her errors than appreciate her genius, she asked him if he believed that the peace, recently concluded at Hubertsburg,† would be of long con-

* Breteuil.

† Between Austria and Prussia.

tinuance? The minister replied, that the exhausted strength of the people, and the wisdom of those sovereigns by whom they were governed, seemed to promise tranquillity for many years. But, he added, that she, who by her abilities could estimate the political system of Europe, and, by the extent of her power, direct them at pleasure, might form a better judgment of that circumstance than he. Catharine, assuming an air of modesty, said, ‘ You think, then, that Europe has her eyes now fixed upon me ; and that I am of some importance in her principal courts?’ The answer, doubtless, was in the affirmative. Catharine listened to it with complaisant attention ; then, with all the Imperial dignity, replied, ‘ I really believe that Russia *does* merit consideration. I have the finest army in the world. Money, it is true, I want ; but of that I shall be amply provided in a few years. Were I to indulge the bent of my own desires, I should have still a greater taste for war than peace ; but humanity, justice, and reason, hold me back. I shall not, however, resemble the Empress Elizabeth. Impetuosity shall not entangle me in a war : when it may prove advantageous to my interest, I will enter upon it ; but never from a motive of complaisance to others.’ This Princess added, that no judgment could be formed of her conduct in less than five years ; that time, at least, was necessary for the re-establishment of order in her empire, and to reap the fruit of her cares ; but, in waiting for this, she would conduct herself towards all the Princes of Europe like an able coquette.

These assertions were very true. The minister supposed them dictated by vanity. But did not, however, presume to check the efflu-

vescence of flattery in a complimentary answer.

The first trial that Catharine made of her influence, was in favour of Biren, who experienced some difficulties from the senate of Mit-tau. When she recalled the troops which were in Pomerania, the Empress ordered them to march into Courland, to support the pretensions of her dependant. She then sent another army into Poland, under command of Count Roman-zoff; an army that was soon reinforced by twenty thousand auxiliaries, whom General Czerinscheff had led under Prussian colours.

During the long exile of Biren, the states of Courland regarded him as having forfeited his title of Duke; and elected in his place Prince Charles of Saxony, son of Augustus III. King of Poland. This Prince, supported by his father's interest, and the express wishes of the Courlanders, thought himself capable of supplanting a competitor rendered odious by his reputation for cruelty. But the sight of the Russian armies easily checked the auspicious sentiments entertained in favour of the Duke Charles. Simolin,* sent by Catharine, dictated to the senate of Mit-tau the laws of his mistress; and a declaration, published at Moscow,† in favour of Biren, menaced the King of Poland with war, and reduced him to the unavoidable necessity of granting the investiture of Poland to the supplanter of his own son.

Satisfied with these marks of docility, Catharine employed her mediation with Maria-Theresa and Frederick, to induce a retirement of their troops from the hereditary dominions of

* The same person who has since been Ambassador at the courts of London and Versailles.

† 31st December.

the King of Poland ; but this she could not obtain. The Empress Queen attributed its failure to the King of Prussia, who retorted it upon her Majesty. Happily a peace terminated these acts of injustice.

Frederick, however, who had foreseen the importance to be derived from Catharine's friendship, and was desirous of that acquisition, eagerly appeared, among the first, prodigally to lavish upon her the incense of flattery. He presented her with the order of the Black Eagle, which was gratefully accepted, and with which she decorated her person when she was at Moscow. Catharine certainly had not forgotten that a Prussian order, worn by her husband, had been attributed to him as something criminal. But she was willing to inform her subjects that, in foreign courts, she was not without consideration ; and what appeared a fault in the Emperor, the same, repeated by Catharine, was esteemed a mark of superior ability.

New subjects of dispute at that time arose between the courts of Petersburg and Copenhagen, upon the government of Holstein.—By a secret treaty, concluded twelve years before,* between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, the latter had ceded to his Danish Majesty his rights to the regency of Holstein, during the minority of the Grand Duke. The court of Denmark had long coveted a principality so convenient to its interest, and of which it has since been put in possession. The return of Prince George, to govern Holstein in the name of Russia, was seen with no degree of pleasure. His authority was at first disavowed by Denmark : but Catharine threatened : it was a fearful sight again to behold the Russian troops on

* In 1750.

the march for Holstein. The Danish commissaries left Keil, and one extraordinary,* dispatched from Copenhagen, came to Moscow in order to plead an excuse for the King, his master.

The courts of Petersburg and Stockholm were then upon the best terms of friendship. United by the bonds of blood, peace was most conducive to their mutual interests and Russia; did not yet discover that enormous aggrandisement of power with which, some years afterwards, she terrified Sweden and her neighbours.

Apprehensive of no alarm from the Princes of Europe, Catharine could not enjoy an equal share of tranquillity from the intentions of her own subjects. Whatever policy prompted, and she believed most conducive to secure the attachment of her subjects, the Empress put in practice. Naturally generous, interest prevailed upon her to be more so. Desirous of adding to the number of her creatures, she became prodigal; and her fears were of a ruinous tendency.

She carefully assumed an appearance of clemency. She not only restored Ghoudowitz, Wolkoff, and Milganoff, to liberty; but to the latter she gave the command of a regiment, and appointed the second, Lieutenant-Governor of Oremburg. Ghoudowitz would accept of nothing.

During the first months that succeeded the sad catastrophe by which Peter III. was removed, Catharine had leisure to contemplate all the horror of her crime; reflection, often slow, always brings remorse; and the intrepid soul of Catharine could not entirely stifle its sensations: beside, these repeated conspiracies, ever springing up, kept her mind in a state of continual

* M. Hackthausen.

ferment. They were discovered, and upset ; but the causes of them could not be annihilated ; of which the Empress felt the yoke so much the more galling, as she affected to dissemble her alarms.

Ever since Gregory Orloff was acknowledged to be Catharine's lover, men the most distinguished by birth, jealous of his fortune, or disgusted by his proud demeanor, kept at a distance from the court. This was a subject to her of secret affliction. The Empress often saw her person left to the attendance of uncourtly soldiers, who strangely abused those rights which they claimed from gratitude. It was not their past services that she recompensed. With these, perhaps, she would have willingly dispensed ; but for such as they might yet be enabled to render, she paid them in advance ; her largeness and honours accumulated upon them, augmented their insolence, and increased their avidity. Deference to such men, that was extorted from mere motives of policy, sometimes made Catharine blush ; but, to excuse their defects, she boasted in them qualities of which they were destitute. ' I do not lead an agreeable life,' said the Empress one day ; ' I know that those who surround me are devoid of education ; but to them I am indebted for my present situation. They are full of courage and probity, and I am well assured that they will not betray me.' One part of this avowal could not be sincere. The accomplices of Catharine did not want courage ; but where was their probity ?

Among these proud and brutal courtiers, Pannin almost stood alone distinguished by polished manners, and a mind tolerably cultivated. But, notwithstanding that, he possessed but a secondary influence. The aristocratic senate that he wished Peter III. to establish, occupied all his

thoughts ; and he seized every opportunity to make a display of its pretended advantage, before the eyes of those with whom he discoursed. Observing, one day, that Catharine seemed impressed with an extraordinary emotion of terror, he thought it a moment favourable to the development of his project, and not unlikely to procure from her its adoption. After he had exaggerated the perils that he felt on her account, and the difficulty of avoiding troubles ever consequent upon usurpation, Panin added, that she, however, possessed one mean of dissipating slavish fear, and thereby of securing, for the future, the stability of her throne ; but he was apprehensive lest a false delicacy might prevail upon her to discard it. Catharine desired Panin to explain himself. He immediately detailed the principles of a system of government, of which a long experience of its inconveniences excited her admiration : ‘ The Muscovite Sovereigns,’ added he, ‘ have, until this time, enjoyed unlimited power ; but the extent of this power is indeed the cause of danger to the depository of it ; since an audacious pretender may usurp the reins of government ; and an usurper is raised above the laws. Believe me, Madam, make the sacrifice of an absolute authority. Create a fixed and permanent council, that will secure to you the throne ; make a solemn declaration that you renounce, for yourself and your successors, the power of disqualifying, at pleasure, the members of that august body. Protest, that if they commit a serious crime, or a notable impropriety, their peers alone shall have the right to judge and condemn them, after strict and severe examinations. While you are occupied in a change so full of wisdom, the people will forget the violence that exalted you to the Imperial

dignity, when they call to mind your resolution to maintain yourself upon the throne, by asserting the right of justice.'

Catharine, flattered by any thing that was novel and extraordinary, thought the project sublime; and supposed that, by the renunciation of arbitrary power, she should at once acquire an immortal glory, and for ever conciliate the love of her subjects. This, undoubtedly, might have been anticipated with reason, had her plan extended to a progressive and equal emancipation of her projects; had she given them a senate, the members of which were indiscriminately to be taken from all the classes, and elected by a majority of votes. But to leave a whole people in the most abject and cruel slavery, and choose out of a privileged order, a senate recommended by interest,—was this much short of confirming a master by twenty or thirty tyrants? And is not the despotism of bodies of men more to be dreaded, and less mutable, than that of individuals? However, Catharine desired Panin to draw up, and present her with, his plan; and she explained herself in a way that assured him of its execution. Panin was eager to obey his mistress. In order to purchase success, he placed the name of Gregory Orloff at the head of those whom he destined to compose the new senate. The favourite seemed flattered with this respectful distinction; but demanded time to give it reflection. Before he returned Panin an answer, he consulted Bestuscheff; who, still retaining a part for himself, consented to enlighten, by his experience, that which humoured the caprice of his Sovereign. Bestuscheff knew too well the value of a power that he had long directed, not to tremble at the idea of seeing Catharine divested of it. He immediately waited upon the Empress, forcibly

represented all the danger that she would hazard by adopting Panin's scheme, and conjured her Majesty not to expose herself to a tardy repentance, by dividing an authority that had been acquired with so much trouble; and of which, if she suffered herself, for one moment, to be deprived, the recovery was totally impracticable. The Empress was easily convinced of the wisdom of the old Chancellor's counsels, and promised to follow them. Panin, in a second interview, found her already dissuaded. She applauded the justice of his zeal, commended his enlightened abilities, but ingenuously confessed that she could not possibly take advantage of them. The minister was lively affected by a change so sudden. Obligated to dissemble in Catharine's presence, he threw off constraint before his friends, and could not help remarking to one, whom he had made a confidant of these particulars—'Should the Empress determine on the sole management of affairs, you will see that our reign will not be successful.' These words prove that Panin listened more to the suggestions of resentment than reason; or that he was incapable of forming a judgment of the Empress.

However, Panin soon discovered Bestus-¹⁷⁶³cheff to be the author of the ill success attending his enterprize; and found an opportunity of indulging revenge, by rendering abortive, in his turn, a project, formed by that ambitious old man, in order to enhance his own consequence. Witness of Catharine's amorous intrigues, Bestuscheff knew for some time how eagerly she had delivered herself up to unlawful pleasures; and, to favour the object of her passion, he was not ignorant that she was capable of making the greatest sacrifices. He remarked the ascendancy that Gregory Orloff had

gained. Of all her lovers, the empire of this man over Catharine's affections was most remarkable. In effect, this favourite daily became dearer to the eyes of her Majesty. His masculine beauty at first captivated her soul, which being heightened by an air of assurance and a lofty pride, secured to him the enjoyment of peculiar favour. The essential services Catharine had already received from him; those of which he had still the ability to render; the secret rights that certified to him the expectation of seeing her again become a mother; all confirmed Orloff in his superior conquest. Catharine had, for some time, endeavoured to conceal this intimate connection under the veil of decency; but whether urged by excess of love, or instigated by motives of policy, she soon laid aside every thing mysterious, and even seemed to glory in the unrestrained avowal of her guilty passion. At entertainments and theatrical representations, given in the interior of her palace, it was, that she mostly banished constraint. Once she had assembled a numerous audience to see the performance of a French tragedy, in which Orloff played the chief character; and finding herself by the side of a confident of Poniatowsky, she endeavoured, during the whole of the play, to arrest his attention, by fixing it upon the nobility, the graceful accomplishments, the understanding of her new lover. Then, suddenly calling to mind, that report had represented him deficient in abilities, and that she had herself been of the same opinion with this very confident; she was willing to bring him over to her sentiments, and whispered in his ear, 'believe, if Orloff acts the niggard, he does it the better to play off upon his courtiers.'

But let us return to Bestuscheff's project.

Well assured of the Empress's passion, this old courtier inspired Orloff with the desire that he entertained of seeing him Emperor. He, at the same time, roused his ambition and exalted his pride. 'Gregoriewitsch,' said he to him, 'it is in vain that Catharine has presented you with her heart, if she does not join to it the gift of her hand. She knows with what zeal and resolution you have served her. She is not ignorant of the perils from which you have snatched, purposely to invest, her with supreme power. She cannot, then, amply reward your services, but by admitting you to share with her the possession of a throne, for which she is indebted to you. Ah! how could she refuse it? Can any one better than you sustain this throne, against the numerous conspirators who, for a long time, will undermine its security? Who, better than you, can afford pleasure to this Princess, under the twofold relation of lover and protector? Yes, doubtless, you are the idol of her affections; and I know sufficient of her disposition to be convinced that she will indulge the utmost stretch of your inclinations. You must then, this day, my dear Gregoriewitsch, take advantage of the inconstant smile of fortune. To-morrow, perhaps, it may be no longer practicable. Catharine's heart, of which you appear now securely possessed, may, in one instant, suffer a material change. Soltikoff and Poniatowsky are proofs of her transitory love. Death itself may take her from you; and should you not inherit the sole power, that event will expose you to punishment, for what you have undertaken on her account.

'I feel, however, the impropriety of a request like this being made by yourself. It is not you who must demand the Empress's hand. She

may perhaps raise some obstacles, against which delicacy will not suffer you to combat. A refusal may occasion mutual uneasiness. Trust to my long experience and the sincerity of my friendship. I shall know by what means to determine the Empress voluntarily to make you an offer of the crown. You may be assured that I will hazard no proposition, the acceptance of which has the appearance of uncertainty; but, on your part, promise me no interference, say that you will suffer me to act alone, and even feign ignorance of my proceedings.'

Orloff listened to the old Chancellor with the greatest attention. Presumptuous and inconsiderate, he imagined himself in one moment upon the Czarish throne; and, falling into the arms of Bestusheff, he promised whatever he should require.

Bestusheff, that very day in company with the Empress, artfully sounded her upon the marriage that he designed to make her contract; and she seemed so much the more disposed to form this connection, because her situation, at that time, was such as to induce compliance. She, notwithstanding, declared to the Chancellor, that however inclination might prompt her to marry Orloff, she never would consent to that alliance at the expence of new obstacles; and she confessed, upon maturely considering the subject, that, to her, there appeared no possibility of its accomplishment, without revolting the whole empire.

The Chancellor undertook to bring it about. He composed, in the name of the Russian people, a petition, couched in the most subtle strains; in which, after a pompous eulogy on all that the Empress had undertaken for the glory and happiness of her people, he called to mind the de-

bility of constitution under which the young Paul Petrowitz laboured, and the frequent occasions of alarm arising from his sickly habit; and conjured Catharine to give a fresh instance of her love to the empire, by the sacrifice of her own liberty, in taking a husband.

In order to conceal his real intentions from those who were to subserve his purposes, Bestuscheff began by proposing the Prince Iwan; well assured that this unfortunate Prince would be rejected by all those who signed the petition. At the same time Catharine, whom the old courtier directed, in appearance at least, favoured the proposal; and ever harrassed with the apprehensive dread of his being suddenly removed from prison, and exalted to the throne, she sent him from the castle of Schlusselfburg to a convent near Archangel; where, as if it were intended to make him feel with keener anguish the misfortune that awaited him, he was treated with the respect due to his rank; but was soon brought back to Schlusselfburg in the most secret manner.

What the old Chancellor had sagaciously foreseen, actually came to pass. When he presented this petition to the clergy, twelve bishops, gained over before hand, eagerly signed it; specifying that Catharine should not marry Prince Iwan, because he might punish her for having acted beneficially; and pretend that, to his personal rights alone he was indebted for the crown. They requested, at the same time, that the Empress would deign to choose, from among her subjects, the person whom she believed most worthy of sharing her throne.

A great number of general officers inclined to the opinion of the bishops. Had it not been for Panin's address, the courage of Hetman Razum-



offsky, seconded by Chancellor Woronzoff, Bestuscheff would have triumphed in his artful scheme, and Gregory Orloff become Emperor of all the Russias.*

Panin engaged Razumoffsky and Woronzoff to represent to Catharine the degradation and dangerous consequences attending such a projected union. The Hetman Razumoffsky spoke to her with that rude bluntness peculiar to his character, and that authority which his fortune and services inspired. Woronzoff threw himself at her feet; he supplicated her not to form a matrimonial connection which would bring with it the greatest misfortunes. His representations were very bold, and discovered in him a firmness, of which he was thought incapable. But Catharine, ever devoid of embarrassment, affected much surprise; and having acknowledged with gratitude the friendship of Razumoffsky, and applauded the noble courage of Woronzoff; protested that an idea of a marriage, so formidable in appearance to them, had not even entered her mind: that it was certainly without her knowledge that an intrigue, of a nature odious in the extreme, had been conducted at all; and that since Bestuscheff was the author of it, he should suffer for his temerity. She was, however, cautious in exercising rigour against an old man, who, in concert with herself, had been careful only to flatter her inclinations; and whom she thought it of some importance still to manage with discretion.

Bestuscheff then witnessed the overthrow of

* Catharine, in order to ennoble Orloff, that her marriage with him might appear less disproportionate, solicited the Empress Queen to grant him a diploma of Prince of the empire. She was then to decorate him with the title of Duke of Ingria and Carelia.

his project ; but his interest appeared unshaken. On the contrary, he daily experienced from the Empress and her favourite a warmer reception, whilst Woronzoff saw in her manner towards him nothing but cool civility. From this conduct, he was well assured that extreme zeal for Catharine's glory, did not always afford her pleasure. Woronzoff saw the disgrace that awaited him, and, to ward off the blow, eagerly prevented a forced retreat by a voluntary exile. He intimated that his health was exhausted by the fatigues of the cabinet ; and, under pretence of re-establishing its vigour, demanded permission of two years absence, in order to travel into foreign countries. The Empress, tortured by his presence, acceded to this request with secret joy ; but saw his departure with feigned regret. She expressed towards him in public great consideration and much good will ; and loudly supplicated him to hasten his return, that he might re-assume the functions of a ministry, by which, she said, he successfully promoted the happiness of the empire.

However, the very apprehension of seeing Catharine espouse a bold adventurer, by whose assistance she had precipitated her unhappy husband from his throne, occasioned violent murmurs. Several useless plots against her and Orloff were set on foot. One alone had nearly succeeded. The guard watched at Orloff's door as well as at that of the Empress. A sentinel was gained over, and promised to deliver him up, asleep, to three conspirators. But the hour was inattentively fixed ; and when the conspirators presented themselves, the sentinel who was to second them had already been relieved by another. This soldier, astonished to see three men demand of him entrance into Orloff's apart-

ments, made noise enough to alarm the other guards. The conspirators had barely time to escape; that, however, they did effect by favour of the uniform in which they had disguised themselves.

This commotion spread confusion in the palace. Catharine was awakened. She thought her life in danger at Moscow, and hastened her return to Petersburg. The day of her departure was signalized by transports of outrageous joy; even by excesses of madness. Her portrait, that had been placed upon a triumphal arch, in the grand square of Moscow, was torn in pieces by the multitude, who first dragged it through the streets.

Catharine arrived at Petersburg on the anniversary of her accession to the throne. Persuaded that the only means of imposing on vulgar minds, was to dazzle their eyes with frequent splendid representations, she spared no exertion to set off her public entry with all possible éclat. Her carriage moved slowly on, preceded by all the regiments of guards, accompanied by those of the foreign ministers, and a numerous band of courtiers, whom vanity and ambition drew in her train. This pomp, however, had not that effect the Empress expected from it. It excited astonishment rather than joy, and tended only to inflame the minds: this display of resentment was more apparent from the cause that gave it a keener edge. The number of the mal-contented increased their strength. Conspiracies multiplied, and became more dangerous on account of the imposing names associated with them. Among the enemies to Catharine were enumerated personages of the greatest power in Russia; even those from whom she had received the most steady support. The Hetman Razum-

offsky, Count Panin, and his brother,* were of the number; and it seemed inevitably certain, that if these different conspirators could have turned their attention to a Prince worthy of reuniting their former inclinations, Catharine had lost her crown. Some were for raising the Grand Duke Paul Petrowitz, others the unfortunate Prince Iwan, to the throne; but all embarrassed, all uncertain, unanimously formed a project of dethroning the Empress, without agreeing among themselves whom they should choose for her successor.

Catharine, secretly informed of the design harboured by Panin and Razumoffsky, instantly resolved to seize their persons; but she was possessed of intelligence not to be relied on, and of suspicions that might deceive. Sensible that, by a rigour, perhaps untimely, exercised against men of great consideration, she might risque the danger of a general insurrection; subtlety, to which she had so often had recourse before, and from which she derived so much service, at this instant became her subterfuge.

Although the revolution that placed her upon the throne had scarcely been achieved before she repaid, with much ingratitude, the zeal and courage of Princess Daschkoff; notwithstanding that she had found it necessary, since, to recall her to court, and had treated her with distant attention; she suddenly feigned a wish to restore her to confidence. She entertained no doubt of Princess Daschkoff's participation in plots that were formed by her old friends. She was not unacquainted with the obstinacy of her temper, but knew that vivacity and imprudence

* General Panin, the minister's brother, signalized himself in the first war against the Turks.

were the peculiar features of her mind. She entertained, then, a hope of extorting from her an avowal that might confirm her doubts. For this purpose she wrote a very long letter, in which, after having been profuse in tender epithets, advantageous promises, and all the arts of flattery that seduction recommended, she conjured her, in the name of their former friendship, to reveal what she knew of the recent conspiracies; assuring her, at the same time, of pardon to all who were accomplices in it. The Princess Daschkoff, enraged that Catharine should think to make of her the instrument of her revenge, as she had done of her elevation, sent but four lines in reply to four pages of the Empress. This was the answer—‘Madam, I have heard nothing; but had I received any intimation, I should beware of revealing it. What do you exact from me? that I should expire upon a scaffold? I am ready to mount it.’

Astonished at so much haughtiness, and cherishing no hope of subduing her resolution, Catharine endeavoured to attach those to her interest whom she durst not punish. Some inferior conspirators, who had been arrested, and persevered in obstinate silence, were banished into Siberia: but upon Panin and Razumoffsky were heaped fresh attestations of favour.

But as treasonable plots incessantly sprang up, and clemency, hitherto expressed towards the guilty, seemed to harden them in crimes, Catharine declared, that in future she would not conform to the edict, by which the Empress Elizabeth had promised that no criminal should be condemned to death. She supposed that the Russians were not to be influenced, unhappily, but by the dread of punishment. She saw, afterwards, that they were not restrained by a

principle of fear. In effect, the only way to diminish the number of criminals, and suppress the spirit of insurrection, is to civilize mankind, solemnly to establish among them the principles of sound morality, and inspire them with respect for those by whom they are practised. Many laws have been made against the commission of crimes; but institutions in favour of virtue have lain neglected.

Catharine did not seem to feel a proper sense of the advantages derived from such institutions: but she omitted nothing that promised a contribution to the prosperity of her empire. At that very time, when she had the greatest reason to be apprehensive for her safety, her mind applied to the details of government with as much assiduity as if her reign were to last for ever. She founded colleges and endowed hospitals. She encouraged commerce and rewarded industry. She enlarged her navy, and put new ships upon the stocks. Perceiving, with sorrow, that the population of her states was not equal to their vast extent, and the lands of her most fertile provinces, for want of hands, produced but feeble crops, she published a declaration, inviting foreigners to settle in Russia. She promised them considerable advantages; and, above all, a free toleration of religious opinions; with permission to leave the country when they pleased, and to carry away with them such riches as they might acquire in it, upon condition of giving up a part to the public treasury. It was, doubtless, of little importance to this Princess, that those who wished to domiciliate in her dominions, were of a religion different from her own; provided they shewed themselves industrious husbandmen, laborious manufacturers, and peaceable citizens. As to riches, which she promised to let them

carry off, she well knew that the most part of men who have taken up residence in foreign countries, become attached to those establishments because of their importance, and seldom have the resolution to quit the spots from whence they have derived their opulence.

Although Poniatowsky could not be ignorant that Orloff had, for some time past, enjoyed the preference in Catharine's affection, he attempted again to re-animate, by letters, the passion with which he had once inspired her sensibility. Cherishing a hope that his presence might, perhaps, ensure him a triumph over his rival, he supplicated her Majesty to permit his return to Petersburg in the most secret manner; but these solicitations were vain. Catharine was too well acquainted with Orloff's formidable violence, to think of a journey that must have been discovered. She discarded, then, further dissimulation towards the Polander; but with an avowal of the extinction of her passion, he received an assurance of her constant friendship; and a promise, upon all occasions, to realize that assurance by convincing proofs.

During a part of this year Catharine often shut herself up in the palace. Sometimes she even stole away from the court by occasional jaunts to such of her country-seats as were the least frequented; in these trips she was accompanied only by two or three trusty confidants. Though the knowledge of her intimacy with Orloff appeared a matter of no concern, she endeavoured to conceal her pregnant state; and feigning an indisposition, in order to disappear for some days, she gave birth to that Bobrinsky,* whose conduct has very ill requited the Em-

* Some have pretended that Bobrinsky was born a few days previous to the revolution of 1762; but this fact appears ill-founded.

press for the danger to which she exposed herself on his account.*

Scarcely was Catharine recovered from her lying in, than the interest of her former lover, or rather motives of policy, fixed her attention upon Poland. This kingdom had long experienced the influence of Russia, and that influence was so much the more powerful under Catharine, as, independantly of the army of Romanzoff, encamped upon the banks of the Vistula, fifty thousand men were sub-divided in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. Augustus III. falling a martyr to a course of debauchery rather than sorrow, occasioned by the invasion of Saxony, could not be far from the end of his career. All those who were competitors for the succession began to stir themselves, and in the court of Petersburg centred all their intrigues. The haughty Catharine was not a little flattered upon beholding herself the arbitress of these ambitious rivals. But whilst she took a pleasure in fomenting their discords and raising false expectations, she had secretly decided upon what step to take. She wanted a King of whose characteristic pliability and servile devotion she had received ample documents: she chose Poniatowsky.

* We shall have occasion to speak of Bobrinsky in the sequel of this history.

BOOK II.ARGUMENT.

The state of Poland, from the Kings of the first race to the death of Augustus III.—Election of Poniatowsky—New conspiracy at Petersburg—The Empress's journey into Livonia—Massacre of Prince Iwan in the prison of Schlusselfburg—Punishment of Mirowitz.

1763 { POLAND, which, for some time, played so brilliant a part in Europe, which, by the extent of her territory, the fertility of her soil, the ability and courage of her inhabitants, seemed to promise the acquisition of greater preponderancy, has lost, by the vices of her government, a part of those advantages which she derived from nature.

It will not be useless, in this place, just to glance upon the state of that rich but unfortunate country, which, more than once, we shall behold exciting the ambition of Catharine; and which she has long desolated, in order to facilitate a premeditated invasion.

The history of Poland, like that of almost all other countries in Europe, refers to an epoch considerably distant, and buried in uncertainty. All that we assuredly know is, that Poland was at first governed by a race of kings,* whose power was nearly absolute. To this race succeeded

* The race of Lesko.

the Piasts, who, it is supposed, were elected; but preserved the crown in their race for many successions. The kingdom was often put into a ferment by the pretensions of the nobility; re united against their monarch; to oppose a power that stood in competition with their own.

Lewis of Hungary, nephew and successor of Casimir, was precluded from availing himself of the advantages acquired by that monarch, because, in electing him to the throne, the Polish nobility obliged him to subscribe conditions exceedingly burthensome. At the death of Lewis, who left no male issue, this turbulent nobility offered the crown to Ladislas Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, and imposed upon him the same restraints by which Lewis was bound. One of these conditions was, that he should receive no subsidies without consent of the diets. His successors, as well as he, were reduced to the necessity of making new sacrifices in order to obtain supplies; and, at last, Sigismund Augustus was forced into an acknowledgment* that, upon his demise, the crown should become elective. This Prince, who had no son, was contented to purchase tranquillity by making the declaration. Not long after this period they drew up a charter† that became the basis and guarantee of this privilege. The four principal articles of this charter were:

1st. That the crown should be elective, and that the King should never appoint his own successor.

2nd. That the general diets should be assembled biennially.

* In the year 1550.

† Known under the name of *Pacta conventa*.

3rd. That all the Polish nobility should have the right of voting at the election of the King.

4th. That if the King should violate the laws, and disavow the national privilege, the subjects should be discharged from their oath of allegiance.

The privileges guaranteed by this charter were still extended ; and all the successors, from Sigismund Augustus down to Stanislaus Poniatowsky, inclusive, have not been elected without swearing to their observance. Could we then expect less from Princes who received the crown by title of favour ; and who, had they refused to accept it upon these conditions, would have seen themselves supplanted by competitors of less scrupulosity ? The abuse of power among the nobility kept pace with their exorbitant demands. Not content with freely giving their votes, they held them up to public sale. Henry de Valois was the first who bought, by dint of gold and promises, the throne of the Jagellons, means that have not since been successful, but by the dread of arms. At the accession of every new Sovereign, the nobility usurped some fresh privilege. Under the reign of John Casimir was created the *liberum veto*, that right giving to each noble power to stop the deliberation of a whole diet, and dissolve it by a simple act of volition ; a right from whence have sprung the chief sources of disorders, of anarchy, of the final destruction of Poland.

But after this extent of power, possessed by each gentleman, we may form a judgment of that enjoyed by the Palatines, the great officers, and in general by all the wealthy Poles. They sometimes raised regiments independent of the King ; at others formed confederacies, which, under pretence of defending the laws, scattered

the seed of discord and revolt ; and, in the name of patriotism, exercised the most absurd tyranny.

Such are the Polonese nobility, whose blind ambition has, for three hundred years, gradually consummated the ruin of their country. This nation, brave by nature, that often humbled the Ottoman empire by conquest, and became the legislators of Prussia and Russia, has not been able, since internal dissensions ruined her peace, to resist a single army that attacked her frontiers. She has alternately fallen a prey to Charles Gustavus and Charles XII. of Sweden. And from the instant that the Russians could oppose well disciplined troops to a brilliant and licentious *pospolite*,* they saw themselves capable of imposing laws upon them.

But were these Poles, who boasted so much of their freedom, in reality possessed of that freedom, when they exercised the right of electing their Kings ? The age in which we live has, in several instances, witnessed the contrary fact ; and one † man, who was best informed of their history, has defied them to cite two examples of a pure election.

There is scarcely a great power in Europe that has not, more or less, influenced these elections : but for more than fifty years past Russia only has presided over them.

Such was the situation of Poland when the death ‡ of Augustus III. re animated the contests of the competitors for the throne, and furnished Catharine with means of displaying all the ascendancy of her political influence. This Princess, whom the courts of Vienna and Versailles were led to detach from Prussia, began by

* Armed Polish nobility.

† Sarnisky.

‡ 5th October.

artfully obtaining from those courts an assurance that they would not interfere in the affairs of Poland. The Marquis of Paulmy, French Ambassador at Warsaw, declared * to the diet, that Lewis XV. would not intermeddle with the election of the new King; and Count de Mercy, authorised by Maria-Theresa, soon affirmed the same resolution.

However, the promise of these two courts did not satisfy Catharine. She was still anxious to avoid opposition from that of Berlin: in this she met with success. Frederick had for some time solicited her to sign a treaty of defensive alliance, and she was so much the more inclined to it herself, as she employed a greater degree of art to inspire his Majesty with such a request. Entertaining an idea that she delayed her signature to this treaty, merely on account of her repugnance to a minister † who had been the friend of her husband; the Prussian Monarch made choice of a Plenipotentiary that would necessarily prove more agreeable to Catharine. He sent to Petersburg the Count de Solms, married to a Princess of Anhalt Berenburg, her Majesty's first-cousin. Count de Solms was favourably received by the Empress; and he concluded with her, in the name of the King of Prussia, a treaty, to which was subjoined a secret article, hereunto annexed.

As it is to the interest of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, to exert their utmost influence in order to secure the republic of Poland in her right of free election, and that no one might be permitted to render the said kingdom hereditary in his own family, or to become absolute in it

* 16th March.

† Baron Goltz.

himself; his Majesty the King of Prussia and her Imperial Majesty have promised and mutually engaged, in a manner the most coercive, by this secret article, not only to declare that no person whatever shall undertake to deprive the republic of her right of free election, to render the kingdom hereditary, or to become absolute in it himself, in every instance in which that may happen; but agree to prevent and annihilate, by every possible means, and with one common consent, the views and designs tending to this end, as soon as they shall have discovered them; and to have, in case of need, recourse to arms, whereby the republic may be guaranteed from the subversion of her constitution, and her fundamental laws. This present secret article shall have the same force and vigour as if it had been verbally inserted in the principal treaty of defensive alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

‘ In faith of which, two similar copies have been made, which we, the Ministers Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Prussia and of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, authorised for this purpose, have signed and sealed with the impress of our arms.

‘ Done at Petersburg, the 11th of April (31st March, O. S.), 1764.

‘ C. de Solms, Panin, Gallitzen.’

The new Sovereign of Saxony, who flattered himself with being heir to the throne of Augustus III. as he had inherited the electorate, addressed himself to the Empress, intreating her approval of his pretensions; but she hesitated not to deprive him of every hope. She informed him—‘ that it was her advice, as that of a true friend, not to expose his interests in an affair of which the issue could not answer his expectations.’

Proud of her influence in Poland, Catharine dismissed, one after another, the candidates who were displeasing to her wishes, without, however, explaining herself concerning him whom it was her intention to favour. The majority of Poles wished to elect a Piast, descendant from their ancient kings. Catharine, also, appeared, for some time, friendly to that desire. But, all at once, Warsaw learnt, with extreme astonishment, that it was to Poniatowsky this Princess destined the throne. This choice excited almost universal discontent ; it created violent murmurs. The Polonese nobility, indignant at the thought of beholding a young man * upon the point of reigning over them, whose birth had no claim to any thing illustrious, and whose elevation was neither justified by brilliant actions nor by exalted virtues, enquired one amongst another, what services Poniatowsky had rendered the republic, that he was entitled to such a glorious reward ?

The qualities of Poniatowsky were more adapted to conciliate the friendship of particular individuals, than to render him worthy of the sceptre. Tall, well made, endowed with a figure at once imposing and full of mildness, he spoke and wrote the seven principal languages of Europe with great facility and much elegance : but his knowledge of politics was partial and confined. His eloquence was devoid of argument, his presumption created repugnance. More weak than gentle, more prodigal than generous, he was capable of seducing, with ease, the female heart, and of dazzling a thoughtless multitude ; but to persuade men of information was beyond his capacity. He was, doubtless,

* He was then thirty-two.

made rather to submit than govern. Supported, however, by the interest and arms of Russia, and having no obstacle to fear from the interference of other powers, his triumph did not long remain doubtful. Catharine's self-love felt interested in this triumph. The Empress set so high a value upon seeing the Sarmatian crown placed on the head of her former lover, that she repeatedly wrote to Count de Kayserling, her Ambassador at Warsaw, desiring him to exert every nerve in favour of Poniatowsky. One of these letters was intercepted, and contained these words: 'My dear Count, remember my candidate. I write you this at two o'clock in the morning: judge if the subject of it be indifferent to me!'

The Count de Kayserling was careful not to disobey his mistress. Neither he, nor the generous Russians neglected any thing whereby the choice of their Sovereign might be confirmed. The members of the diets were already convoked. That of Warsaw unanimously elected Poniatowsky: but whatever care was taken to dispose, as favourably, those of the provinces, his success in them met with opposition. His competitors out-voted him in some, and stood upon an equality with him in others.

When the diet of convocation re-assembled, the Russian troops entered into Warsaw, under pretence of preserving order and maintaining liberty.

This city, at the same time, was crowded with strangers, ready to unite, at the first signal. Count Branicky, Grand-general of the crown, and Prince Radziville, took up arms in order to prevent the Russians from forcing the suffrages: but what could they do against foreign armies that domineered over all the country, and sub-

dued a part of their fellow-countrymen, disposed to join these armies? It is, however, difficult to depict the scene of tumult that began to reign in the diet of Warsaw. Count Malakowsky, venerable on account of his age and virtue, had been appointed Marshal. He endeavoured, but in vain, to establish order, and dismiss strangers from the diet. He was answered by exclamations of fury. Swords were drawn. The eloquent Mokranowsky, Nuncio of Cracovia, ran the risk of perishing under the swords of Russian officers, who wanted to pierce him from the top of the tribunes. At first he attempted to defend his life; but sheathing again his sword, he discovered his naked bosom—'If I must fall a victim,' said he to the Russians, 'strike here; but, at least, I will die as I have lived,—free.' Perhaps the perfidious wretches would have had the audacity to kill him, but Prince Adam Czartorisky nobly ventured to throw himself before the Nuncio, and to shield him with his own body. Thus the first sittings of the diet were occupied only with injurious debates and obstreperous quarrels.

Some one at Petersburg, acquainted with the displeasure that the election of Poniatowsky gave the Poles, and willing to lessen him in the estimation of Catharine, presumed to inform her Majesty that the object of her protection seemed so much the less intended to fill the throne of Poland, as his grand-father had been steward of a small estate of the Princes Lubomirsky. 'Although he had been nothing else himself,' replied Catharine humorously, 'It is my will that he be King, and he shall be so.'

In asserting this, the Empress had not the least apprehension of being deceived. Independent of her troops already in Poland, she sent

an army of twelve thousand men into Lithuania, and fresh re-inforcements advanced towards Kiow. Her Ambassador reigned triumphant at Warsaw, and the republic were hemmed in, if we may so speak, by the Russian armies.

Several of the provinces then accused their Nuncios of having disappointed the common wish, by yielding to the court of Petersburg. Murmurs were not the only significant attestations of what was felt. They took up arms; they formed themselves into different confederacies; but such commotions were totally useless. The Russians threatened; the mal-contents were soon reduced to silence.

At last, the diet of election was opened and held, in conformity to ancient custom, in the plain of Wola, about three miles distant from Warsaw. This diet commenced by a solemn mass, at which a sermon was preached.* Count de Kayserlin, Ambassador from Russia, felt himself indisposed, and could not attend at Wola; but sent the diet a letter addressed to him by the Empress, recommending Count Poniatowsky, in a manner the most pressing.

During that time Poniatowsky, accompanied by a number of her friends, visited each Nuncio in private, and endeavoured to secure him by testimonies of benevolence, and promises soothing by flattery. The Palatines being all assembled, and ranged in order round the Szopa, a large building open on every side, in which the senate and equestrian order were arranged. The Primate, raising his voice, thrice demanded whom they would have for their King? All una-

* The preacher took these words for his text: 'Eligite ex vobis meliorem, qui vobis placuerit, et posuite eum super solium.' 2 Kings, c. x, v. 3.

nimously replied, ' Count Poniatowsky !' He was proclaimed, the next day,* King of Poland, under the appellation of Stanislaus-Augustus.

The new Monarch, on his return to Warsaw, traversed the streets of this capital, in the midst of popular acclamations, and from that very day occupied the palace of the republic. Some Nuncios abstained from appearing at the diet; the majority of the nobles were disconsolate upon the nomination of Poniatowsky: but he was no sooner placed upon the throne than, with few exceptions, they all paid him homage; and he began his reign with as much tranquillity as if his election had not been the operation of violence.†

Some time before this election, Catharine had announced her intention of paying a visit to the theatre of her success, and making a tour through Livonia.

By some persons it was conjectured that she was desirous of seeing, once more, the lover to whom she had given a throne; others entertained a suspicion that she was again pregnant, and only left Petersburg in order to conceal her accouchment from a crowd of courtiers, by whose vigilance she found herself beset. But we shall presently be convinced that her journey arose from a very different motive. At the moment when Catharine was quitting her capital,

* 7th September.

† Stanislaus Poniatowsky at first conducted himself with much address and circumspection. Those from whom he had experienced the greatest opposition, he received with affability. The son of Count de Bruhl had endeavoured to disserve him, but the King permitted him to fill the place of Grand-master of the artillery, which he had promised to Count Branicky, Palatine of Helsez, and of which the latter had the generosity not to desire his despoliation.

she was informed that her guards conspired anew. Several of them were arrested. But as it seemed that the discovery of one conspiracy generally afforded additional presumption towards plotting another; and she was unwilling to irritate the multitude by the horror of public executions; the trial of these conspirators was instituted in private, and they were barbarously suffered to terminate their existence in prison for want of food.

From the recital of such dreadful facts, so shocking to human nature, we should refrain, were they not attested in a manner authentic beyond the possibility of doubt; or if the severe justice of impartial history permitted silence to bury them in oblivion. But can we, without the imputation of just criminality, suffer that posterity, relying upon the faith of treacherous flatterers, should make a boast of clemency in that woman, who commanded, or passively suffered, the commission of atrocities, even from the thought of which the mind recoils with horror?

The journey into Livonia had been suspended for a few days. Before she undertook it, Catharine was inclined to visit Cronstadt; and supposing that the foreign ministers might receive a favourable impression of her marine, she invited them also to the port. They followed her most assuredly, but did not partake of the opinion entertained by her Majesty of her naval strength. They found there a small number of vessels, not supposed by them capable of keeping the sea; and the English Ambassador, who, in other respects, was careful to flatter Catharine, could not dissemble in this instance; and frankly told the Empress that her navy appeared to him by no means formidable. She has since proved that it was capable of becoming so.

Upon her departure from Cronstadt, the Empress having left the command of Petersburg to Count Panin, took the road for Livonia. Gregory Orloff accompanied her Majesty: she, however, received, at Riga, a visit from Poniatowsky, who, indeed, disguised himself in a manner to escape suspicion; that no offence might be offered a favourite whose jealousy the Empress was still attentive to manage with prudence.

If, however, the Empress cautiously kept from Orloff the knowledge of her interview with Poniatowsky, she certainly did not regret that the public suspected the scene. There must be some pretext for taking this journey; and that was, doubtless, imputed to love, which sprung alone from motives of a nature altogether political. But the eye of contemplation was not long veiled by deception: an attempt, horrible to imagine, threw off disguise involved in mystery. Of what avail to Catharine was the conversation of fifteen or twenty minutes with a lover, who no longer engrossed the principal share of her affections? But of how much greater importance was it, to deliver herself at once from another object; the very mention of which alone irritated the people against her, and delivered her up to unceasing torments?

From the depth of his dungeon, Prince Iwan rallied the hopes of those to whom the usurpation of Catharine appeared detestable. It was in order to restore this unfortunate Prince to the throne, that almost all the conspirators were plotting. It was for him that men whom he had never seen, and of whose existence he was totally ignorant, continually braved the scaffold. Faithful to the system of calumny, by which Peter III. had so effectually lost his life, the

court of Russia employed the same artifice against Iwan. At one time he was affirmed to be stupid, and incapable of articulation ; at another he was accused of drunkenness, and bordering on the ferocity of a savage. It was even pretended, that he occasionally suffered paroxysms of madness, and believed himself a prophet. But there remains not a shadow of doubt that these malignant reports arose from depravity of the deepest dye, and were afterwards innocently propagated by persons who did not reflect on the various interests concurring in their inventions. Doubtless, Iwan, to whom every kind of instruction * was denied, immured in a dismal prison, deprived of converse, excepting with some Russian officers, of all others the most brutal, must have possessed an understanding necessarily confined ; but between ignorance, imbecility, and madness, the distance is exceedingly wide. The conversation, however, that Iwan had with the Empress at Count Schuwaloff's,† evidently proves him neither mad nor stupid. Not only the gracefulness of his figure and the accents of his voice, but the affecting strains in which he poured forth the agony of grief, wounded the sensibility of all that were present, and even drew from the Empress herself a flood of tears. Had the young Prince committed an act of lunacy, could it have escaped publicity ? But we find another instance of his good sense and quick sensibility of mind, in his discourse with Peter III. whom he saw, for the first time, at Schlusselfburg. Baron de Korff has transmitted to us a faithful detail of that in-

* It has, however, been affirmed, that a German officer, in whose custody he was for some time kept, clandestinely taught him to read.

† In 1756.

terview, of which we have given relation in the first volume of this work.*

Peter III. repeatedly conversed with him afterwards, and persisted in his intention of declaring him his heir. Now, we may with propriety imagine that Wolkoff, Ghoudowitch, and his other confidants, would have dissuaded him from it, could they have supposed Iwan for ever unworthy of the throne. But, in fine, whatever might have been the character of that Prince, the daring attempts that were made in his favour rendered him still an object formidable to Catharine, and she sought after the means of ridding herself of a rival so dangerous to her tranquillity, without the semblance of contributing to his destruction.

Chance, or rather the vigilance of Catharine's emissaries, soon furnished an instrument adapted to serve her designs. The regiment of Smolenski was garrisoned in the town of Schlussemburg, and a company of a hundred men guarded the fortress in which Prince Iwan was confined. In this regiment there was an officer named Wassali Mirowitsch, whose grand-father had strenuously supported the rebellion of the Cossac Mazeppa, when he took up arms in favour of Charles XII. against Peter the Great. The estates of Mirowitsch had accordingly been confiscated. This young man, deeply tinctured with the spirit of ambition, zealously reclaimed the forfeited property; this it was that introduced him to active persons at court. His property was not restored; but he was flattered with the hope of a considerable fortune, provided he discovered a zeal in preserving the peace of the empire. What cannot the desire

* See p. 134 et seq.

of riches effect upon a daring mind filled with credulity? Mirowitsch promised all that was desired. It is said, they then committed to him the barbarous plan, which he executed with scrupulous fidelity.

At the same time Captain Oulousieff and Lieutenant Ischekin were commanded to sleep in Prince Iwan's cell. They received an order from her Majesty, enjoining them to put the unhappy Prince to death, should any attempt be made to rescue him from prison. Catharine, some time after, departed for Livonia. Eight soldiers commonly guarded the arcade of Prince Iwan's apartment, and all the passages leading to it. The other soldiers remained in the guard-house, at the castle-gate, divided in their proper stations. The detachment was commanded by an officer, who himself was obedient to the governor.

It has been asserted that, previous to the execution of the project, Mirowitsch had opened his mind to one Lieutenant Apollo Ouschakoff, of the regiment of Weliki Lacki; and that Ouschakoff had sworn at the altar of St. Mary of Casan, in Petersburg, to aid him in the execution of his enterprise. But as the latter person was drowned * before the attempt of Mirowitsch was made, it is impossible to ascertain the truth of their mutual confederacy. What appears more probable is, that he talked of the conspiracy, in vague terms, with one of the valets of the court; and that he afterwards intimated to Simeon Tschewarideff, a Lieutenant of the engineer corps, the advantage that would arise from the liberation of Iwan, and placing him under the protection of the guards. He thought it of con-

* He is said to have been drowned as he assisted in the launch of a vessel.

sequence to assume the air of a conspirator without accomplices, but he refrained from saying any thing positively to Tschewarideff, of the time and manner of executing his project. He had already been on guard a week in the fortress, without so much as venturing an attempt. But, blushing at the recollection of his own weakness, or incited by those who secretly urged him on, he asked permission to remain a week longer on guard. No hesitation was made to this request.

After having admitted, into his confidence, a man named Jacob Piskoff, he endeavoured, about ten o'clock at night, to gain over three corporals and two privates, who at first started some difficulties; but the expectation of reward subdued their fears, and induced them to promise implicit obedience to his directions. Nevertheless, whether from a principle of timidity or a motive of precaution, they, with one consent, resolved to wait till the depth of darkness. Between one and two in the morning, they met again. Mirowitsch and the corporals put fifty soldiers, then on guard, under arms, and marched them towards Iwan's prison. They met, on their way, Berednikoff, Governor of the castle, whom they supposed long since buried in the arms of sleep; but who having, without doubt, been apprized of the design of Mirowitsch, came to oppose its execution. Berednikoff commanded him to declare why he had put the soldiers under arms, and to what place he was going? Without answering a word, Mirowitsch struck him lightly with the butt end of his musket; and having consigned him to the hands of some of the soldiers, which Berednikoff patiently suffered, he continued his march. Being arrived at the entrance of the corridor into which the door of

Prince Iwan's apartment opened, the sentinels drew up to oppose his passage. He immediately ordered his party to fire upon them. This they did. The sentinels returned the fire ; but none were wounded on either side *

The soldiers under Mirowitsch, not expecting resistance, shewed an inclination to retreat: their chief withheld them; but they insisted upon seeing the order that he said was transmitted to him from Petersburg. He immediately drew from his pocket and read a forged decree of the senate, whereby Prince Iwan was recalled to the throne, and Catharine excluded; because she was gone into Livonia to marry Count Poniatowsky. The ignorant and credulous soldiers, without suspicion, believed the decree, and again disposed themselves to obey his orders; a piece of cannon was then brought to Mirowitsch, which he himself pointed at the door of the arcade; but at the sight of this it was thrown open, and he entered, with all his party, unmolested.

Oulousieff and Ischekin, the officers set to guard Prince Iwan, had shut themselves up in his room, and commanded the sentinels to fire. But when they heard Mirowitsch order the door to be forced open, and supposing themselves incapable of resisting the assailants, they fell, sword in hand, upon the unhappy victim, of whose person they were about to be deprived.

At the report of muskets Iwan awoke, and hearing the cries and threats of his guards, he conjured them to spare his miserable existence. But when he saw that these barbarians were deaf to his supplications, despair armed him with

* Who does not perceive that the cartridges distributed to the detachment were without balls?

new force, and, although naked, he for some time defended himself. With his right hand pierced through, and his body covered with wounds, he seized a sword belonging to one of the monsters, and snapped it in two; but while he struggled to wrench the broken piece out of his hand, the other stabbed him in the back, and threw him down. He whose sword was broken finished the horrid deed, by plunging his bayonet into Iwan's body.

They then opened the door, and at once discovered to Mirowitsch the corpse of the Prince, streaming with blood, and produced the order by which Catharine authorised them to assassinate him, should any attempt be made to rescue his person.

Mirowitsch, struck with dismay, started immediately back: then throwing himself upon the body of the unfortunate Prince, cried out, 'I have missed my blow; I have nothing more than to die.' But he presently rose up again. So far from avoiding the punishment that he now foresaw, or satisfying a spirit of revenge by the massacre of the two assassins, he returned to the spot where he had left the Governor in custody of his soldiers, and as he restored him his sword, coolly said, 'Now it is I who am your prisoner.'

On the day following the body of the miserable Iwan was exposed before the church* of

* This was an old Lutheran church in the castle; it was built of timber for the use of the garrison, when Nöteborg was in possession of Sweden, long before it was taken from them by Peter the Great. The church is fallen to decay, full of rubbish, and employed for religious purposes. The painted altar is removed from the east to the north side-wall, and in its place, filling up the enclosure where the altar rails have been, is a pile of deal planks, in a state of rottenness: under this pile the body of Iwan was thrown, and it laid there for some time.

Schlusselfburg, clothed in a sailor's habit. An immense crowd of people flocked to the place, and it is impossible to describe the grief and indignation excited by the view of an unfortunate object, who, after having been cruelly hurled from the throne, when he was yet in his cradle, passed his days in a gloomy dungeon, and at last fell by the hands of merciless assassins. Iwan was six feet high ; his head of hair was remarkably fine, and of a flaxen hue ; his beard was red ; his features regular ; and his complexion extremely fair ; the beauty of his person, and the period of his youth,* impressed the heart of humanity with a keener sense of compassion for the unhappy lot of Iwan, and a detestation of the savage barbarity of his murderers. His body was folded up in a sheep-skin, put into a case, and buried without ceremony. The concourse of people, and the murmurs of outraged sensibility increased to such a pitch, that a tumult was expected. Apprehensions had, doubtless, been entertained for the safety of the two assassins, Ouloussieff and Ischekin ; who, as soon as they had perpetrated their sanguinary deed, found a vessel under weigh for Denmark, where the Russian Minister eagerly received them under his protection.

The Governor of Schlusselfburg sent off to Panin a detailed account of the attempt of Mirowitsch, and of Iwan's tragical end. He likewise transmitted to him a manifesto found in the pocket of Mirowitsch ; and which, it was affirmed, had been fabricated long before, in concert with Lieutenant Ouschakoff. This manifesto, full of bitter invective and imprecations against Catharine, represented Prince Iwan as the sole legitimate Emperor, and was, as then

* He had not yet completed his twenty-fourth year.

stated, to have been published at the instant of the Prince's liberation, and during his public entry into Petersburg. Panin immediately dispatched a messenger to the Empress with a particular account of these events.

Her Majesty was then at Riga ; the impatience of her mind was so visible, that no dissimulation could conceal its appearance. She anxiously counted the days that intervened from the time of Mirowitsch's being on guard ;* and such was the inquietude that harrassed her soul upon a delay, of which she could not divine the cause, that she often rose in the night, and enquired if no messenger were arrived † At length, after three days of uncertainty, Panin's dispatches restored her mind to peace.

However, the fatal event that imbrued Schlus-selburg in blood, rendered Catharine still more odious. Every minute circumstance that marked the attempt of Mirowitsch was carefully put together. They were examined with dispassionate consideration ; the result of which was, that before her departure for Livonia the Empress had contrived this horrid plot. She, soon after the shocking catastrophe, returned to Petersburg. Upon her entrance into the capital, she was surrounded by an immense concourse of people, who assiduously watched her countenance, in order to depict the feelings of her heart ; but Catharine, always mistress of herself, betrayed no symptoms of inward remorse. Her steps were firm, her countenance serene, as if she had never felt the reproaches of her own bosom.

* We have seen above, that before he attempted the execution of his project, he let his week of duty pass over.

† These facts have been several times confirmed by General Brown, who honestly attributed the perturbations of Catharine's mind to supernatural causes.

Lieutenant-General Weymar had already received orders to repair to Schlüsselburg. When he had privately examined Mirowitsch and his accomplices, they were brought to Petersburg: in this city their trial was instituted, before a commission composed of five prelates, an equal number of senators, and several general officers. Mirowitsch appeared before the judges with that tranquillity which alone can afford the guilty an assurance of secret satisfaction, and escape from punishment. He answered the interrogations put to him in a careless and often insolent manner. It is true the judges themselves did not make it a matter of great importance, and seemed fearful of diving too far into execrable mystery. Only one * among them, urged by a sense of equity, condemned a mode of procedure so exceedingly strange. But his indiscreet zeal was censured, and silence imposed upon him; unless he meant to forfeit his situation, and be degraded from his rank of nobility. At length, after some days, Mirowitsch was condemned to lose his head, † not as guilty of high treason, but as a disturber of the public peace. This sentence moved him not; he walked to the scaffold like a man devoid of fear, who thought himself sure of receiving a pardon, because, according to report, it had been promised him. But if, in effect, he relied upon that alone, he was cruelly deceived. The time of his execution was not deferred, and the unhappy wretch was at once the instrument and the victim of a barbarous policy. The Russians were astonished that her Majesty suffered him to die. But how could Catharine shield him from punishment, without loudly accusing herself of having provoked his

* He was a senator.

† On the 26th of September.

crime? and if, as there seems to be every reason to suspect, she were really a party concerned in the diabolical transaction, can we suppose for a moment that she would hesitate to rid herself of a witness who might expose her to continual inquietude?

The simple Mirowitsch was the only person condemned to death. The soldiers, whom he had engaged to second him in his attempt to deliver Prince Iwan, were punished with more or less severity. Piskoff, regarded as the most culpable, was condemned to run the gantlet twelve times through a line of a thousand soldiers. The three corporals and twelve fuzileers, seduced by Piskoff, passed ten times down the same line; they were afterwards put to the chain,* and employed upon the public works. The other soldiers who obeyed Mirowitsch were likewise whipped through the ranks; and, being afterwards incorporated into other regiments, were sent to distant garrisons. Tschewarideff was degraded from his rank as officer, because he had listened to, but not revealed, the vague confidence of Mirowitsch. Fifty-eight persons in all were punished. A great appearance of severity was exercised against the delinquents, so that the least suspicion of superior instigators of their crimes might be totally suppressed.†

Nevertheless, however caution guarded against suspicion, the people persevered in imputing to Catharine all the odium of an act so full of horror. They accused her of perfidy and cruelty; they regarded her as one of the most guilty women that ever usurped a crown; they detested her power; but they crouched at her feet.

* A log chained to their leg.

† See a farther account of Iwan in the Appendix to the first volume.

The death of Prince Iwan gave rise to a supposition that this would not be the last deed of Catharine's commission. It was a subject of doubt whether the sacrifice of her son might not fill up the measure of her guilt! Prudence was not yet among the number of that Prince's virtues. Lively, impetuous, detesting Count Panin! his governor, holding him up to ridicule, he repeatedly suffered words to escape his lips, that might have proved fatal in their consequences. It is affirmed that he sometimes asked why his father had been put to death, and his mother suffered to possess a throne of which he was the undoubted heir?—These questions could not fail reaching the ears of her Majesty. They were cited in public companies at Petersburg, and all who heard them trembled at the ingenuous vivacity that gave them utterance.

Whatever Catharine felt from her son's enquiries, she feigned ignorance of them, and attributed less blame to the young Prince, than to some enemies of her peace. She entertained no doubt of his acting with more discretion when matured by age and experience. The long patience and profound respect evinced in the behaviour of Paul Petrowitz have since proved that she was not mistaken.

BOOK III.ARGUMENT.

Discontents at Petersburg—Misunderstanding between Gregory Orloff and Panin—Wissensky becomes a favourite of the Empress—Dismissal of Chancellor Woronzoff—Prince Radziwil at the head of the conspirators—The Bishop of Cracow carried off—The Duke de Choiseul incites the Turks to declare war against Russia—Treaty of the Empress with England—The adventure of Lord Macartney at the court of Russia—Tournament at Petersburg—Reform of the tribunals—Convocation of the deputies from all the provinces of the empire—Wise reply of the Samoyedes—The attempt of Ischoglohoff—Travels of several learned men into the interior of Russia—Academical institutions—Inoculation of the Empress and the Grand Duke.

1765 **W**HILST Catharine imposed laws on Poland, amused the house of Austria, conciliated the friendship of his Prussian Majesty, and entered into a treaty with England, she artfully tampered with all the other courts in Europe, and managed matters so efficaciously, that she became an object that excited fear. She exerted every nerve to give additional spirit to the commerce of her states, to augment her navy, and, above all, to civilize the manners of a people still tinctured with barbarity. But, indifferently seconded by the grandees of the empire, and even by those who surrounded her person, her insti-

tutions made, at first, but slow advances towards improvement. The spirit of party continued to prevail in Petersburg. The attempts that were either to be subverted, or the offenders punished, always made it expedient that Catharine should keep on terms with the conspirators, to whom she was indebted for her throne: but the favours which she incessantly heaped upon this greedy and insolent band, tended only to increase their animosity, and give rise to new complaints. Fresh conspiracies were daily formed, from the dangerous effects of which the good fortune of the Empress, or rather her prudential conduct, afforded her protection. Punishments allotted were secret and terrible. The inventors of one scheme could seldom undertake a second.

What afforded a real cause of affliction to the Empress, was the misunderstanding that subsisted between her favourite and the prime minister: so much the more disagreeable, because the devoted service of the one was no less useful to her interest than the name and abilities of the other. Panin's imperfections were undoubtedly conspicuous; but he was the only one that had an idea of conducting public business. His cold imagination, his hypocondriac cast, his pride, his obstinate turn of mind, and, above all, his natural indolence, were subjects of Catharine's high displeasure; but she gave him the credit due to superior talents, and admitted him still to a share in her confidence. But if Panin, at any time, incurred her Majesty's disapprobation, he had the art of recovering his former grounds.

Orloff's ascendancy was founded upon more intimate connections: but that he managed with a degree of indifference, which rendered it less

secure. A lover, satiated with happiness, lost that wonted assiduity to his mistress, which now seemed irksome. He spent whole weeks together at the chace of the bear, and indulged himself in acts of infidelity, which he had not sufficient discretion to conceal from his royal mistress; and of which she was naturally disposed to follow the vicious example.

Panin, observing Orloff's conduct, thought to take advantage of it, in order to effect the ruin of the arrogant favourite. He perceived that her Majesty often regarded a young officer, named Wissenky, with complaisant attention. From that moment he neglected no device that might strengthen her inclination. Wissenky was soon happy; and, directed by the Russian Minister, inspired the Empress with a passion so exceedingly predominant, as to induce the supposition that Orloff would become a sacrifice. But the latter, unwilling to lose his rights, discovered, by turns, a spirit of jealousy and tender affection; and shewed himself to be no less dangerous than necessary. He regained his ascendancy over Catharine's heart, and the new lover was dismissed with brilliant presents, and assigned an employment that fixed him in a distant province.

Notwithstanding the superior interest, the high consideration, the advantages necessarily attached to his situation, as Governor of the Grand Duke, and his title of Minister, Panin saw the return of Woronzoff, whose office he filled *ad interim*, with no sensations of pleasure. Jealous of preserving all his authority, and the splendor of a representation which, in his esteem, was of the greatest value, he meanly stooped to flatter the favourite whose safety he had undermined. To seduce Orloff was not a difficult matter. Ever

recollecting, with bitter asperity, the steps that the Chancellor had taken to prevent his elevation to the throne, he exacted from the Empress his removal from public affairs; and became the apologist of an enemy less courageous, but of a deeper cast in subtilty. Catharine accosted the Chancellor with extreme reserve. Instead of re-establishing him in the functions of Minister, agreeably to the expectation which, at his departure, she gave him reason to cherish; she insinuated to Woronzoff the renunciation of an employ, the duties of which he could no longer discharge to the satisfaction of his Sovereign. The Chancellor hesitated for some time: but at length the advice of his friends prevailed. He then affected a willing resignation of what was extorted from him by force. That was received with an appearance of regret, not more sincere than the Chancellor's wishes for retirement; and, to express the secret joy inspired by his obedience, he was presented with a gratuity of fifty thousand roubles, and a pension of seven thousand.

Among innumerable means employed by Catharine for the detection of plots and conspiracies, so incessantly disturbing to her repose, she neglected not to intercept the correspondence of the foreign ministers. That of the French agent* was sold to her. She even succeeded in procuring a duplicate of his cypher; and if his letters did not appear to contain an adherence to the machinations of her enemies, they seemed, at least, to convey a knowledge of all that was most mysteriously carrying on around her. At this discovery her pride was hurt; her aversion to the court of Versailles redoubled; and the cold reception with which she

* Berenger, who had the title of Charge d'Affaires.

received the French Minister, reduced him to the necessity of making a retreat.*

Lewis XV. appointed the Marquis de Beausset † to succeed M. Berenger at the court of Petersburg: he was a man of great vanity, but of a narrow intellect; to whom the ministers of Catharine made great complaints of the Charge d'Affaires, his immediate predecessor. But, as Beausset was ignorant of the true cause of these complaints, he paid little attention to them, and took no precaution to avoid a renewal of the same against himself. He even believed that they were the offsprings of blind jealousy, which the glory of the French nation excited in her Imperial Majesty; whilst, on the contrary, ambition urged her to usurp the esteem, and to attract the praises of that nation. Voltaire and d'Alembert she unceasingly soothed with the incense of flattery. Upon the latter she offered

* The Empress, apprehensive lest Voltaire might have learnt some of the facts contained in the correspondence of the agents of her nation, wrote to that celebrated genius, so as to dissuade him from the belief of them, if he were informed of the transaction, and not to reveal any circumstance, provided he remained in ignorance.

‘All your countrymen,’ said she in her letter, ‘do not entertain of me the same opinion as you do. I know some who take a pleasure in persuading themselves that it is impossible that I should perform a good action; who torture their minds to convince others of the like sentiments; and woe be to their satellites, if they dare to harbour a thought beyond their instructions! I am sufficiently candid to admit the supposition that it is an advantage given me over them; because he who is informed of facts merely from the mouth of flatterers, is misinformed, sees them in a false light, and determines his conduct accordingly. As to the rest, my glory depends not upon them; but, most assuredly, upon my own principles, upon my own actions; I console myself in possessing their disapprobation. But, as a good Christian, I pardon them, and commiserate such as deem me an object of envy.’

† He was presented to the Empress on the first of May.

to confer the place of Governor to the Grand Duke, with a pension of twenty-four thousand livres, and every accommodation for finishing the Encyclopedia at Petersburg ; advantages which the philosopher refused. Being informed that Diderot was not in affluent circumstances, and was desirous of selling his library, to enable him to portion out his daughter ; the Empress bought the library, permitted him to enjoy it, and settled upon him a salary as librarian. She had, some time previous to this, sent to Morand, the famous surgeon, a collection of gold and silver medals, struck in Russia ; as a testimony of her approbation of some anatomical subjects, and chirurgical instruments which he had procured for her Majesty. Almost all the men of letters, and Parisian artists most distinguished for elegance and taste, received proofs of her munificence ; and lost in admiration of such generosity, forgetful of, or unacquainted with, her frailties,

For her
They swell'd with lies the hundred trumps of Fame.

However, the secret motive that influenced Catharine in crowning Poniatowsky, began to discover itself. Relying on the assurance of that Prince's devoted submission, she threw off all constraint ; and openly avowed designs, by the bare imputation of which to her Majesty, policy itself had made criminal in the Poles. Her pretensions were extravagant beyond a doubt : but as she was unwilling that they should prove useless, her declaration of them was followed up by troops ready to give them support ; and she proposed nothing but in a tone quite authoritative. Having traced out, upon the map, certain lines of demarcation, according to which Russia was about to dismember a great

part of Poland, Catharine demanded that the validity of those lines should be recognised, and the limits of the two countries thus established. She, moreover, exacted, that the King and the republic should contract with her a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, and grant the Dissidents an enjoyment of equal rights with the Catholics, not even excepting that of sitting in the senate. The last of these requisitions, the only one that had a pretension to justice, gave umbrage to an intolerant and despotic aristocracy. Murmurs arose on all sides. Recourse to arms was intimated. Whether he was really ashamed of the sacrifices that were prescribed to his gratitude, or feared a national revolt, the King himself declared his opposition to sacrifices of such magnitude. But, in order to form a better judgment of the pretexts, with which her Imperial Majesty covered her designs, it will be necessary, first, to understand who the Polish Dissidents were.

Under the reign of Sigismond I.* it was that Protestantism extended itself to Poland. The partizans of this sect soon became so numerous that, under the reign of Sigismond Augustus, they, as well as the Greeks and Arians, obtained a free toleration of their religion, a right to vote in the diets, and a participation of equal privileges with the Catholics. No person, at that time, seemed wounded with this act of justice; on the contrary, it afforded a pleasing reflection, that difference in religious sentiments produced no diminution of political and civil rights. In order to make a general distinction among themselves, the sectarists of the different religious opinions were called Dissidents; but,

* Towards the year 1540.

to this appellation, of which a proscriptive title has since been made, nothing injurious was then attached; and the successors of Sigismund Augustus, by swearing to observe the *Pacta con-senta*, bound themselves also under an oath to maintain peace among the Dissidents. When Henry of Valois* was elected King of Poland, he wanted to get rid of an oath that wounded his intolerant superstition: but his attempts were vain. He must either renounce the crown, or swear to protect the Dissidents: he took the oath.

The Catholics having, afterwards, become more powerful, indulged, to its full extent, that fiery zeal by which they are taught to believe the supreme excellency of their religion; and, on which account, they tolerate no other. They began by persecuting the Arians, whose opinions had already made considerable progress; they proceeded to despoil them of all their civil and religious privileges, and even to banish them from Poland. The Greek and Protestant churches, who had assisted in persecuting the Arians, were soon punished for their imprudence. They were attacked by the Catholics in their turn, and with so much success as to exclude them totally from the diets †.

The humiliation felt on being deprived of the right of suffrage, converted many of the Poles to Catholicism. But if the number of Dissidents were diminished, those which remained, united, on that account, in stricter bonds of union. These called aloud for the treaty of Oliva, ‡ the bulwark of their privileges, and of which so

* The bigoted and vicious Henry III. of France.

† In 1733.

‡ Concluded in 1660.

many potentates had guaranteed the inviolability. The Catholics, alone imperious in the diets, and consequently in possession of full power to indulge, without opposition, their intolerant spirit, enacted a law, declaring such Dissidents guilty of high treason as should appeal to foreign powers, in order to procure, from their interference, the execution of a treaty violently infringed upon, and the re-establishment of statutes despotically abrogated. Russia observed their indignation, and fanned the flame in secret. The Greek Dissidents then addressed themselves to the court of Petersburg. The Protestants implored the intercession of those of London and Berlin. These courts promised them support; and this was the most specious pretext for the armaments of Russia. When the diet of 1766 assembled,* the ministers of the protecting courts presented, in favour of the Dissidents, memorials that excited a violent murmur. The proud and fanatic Bishop of Cracow maintained that the Dissidents had no right of appeal to privileges that were already abolished, and that they had violated the constitution of the republic, by having recourse to foreign powers. Not content with the unjust laws passed against the Dissidents, he proposed the enactment of others still more severe. His opinion was supported by a great majority of the nobles, who blindly confounded religious prejudices with political rights; and the opposition of a few enlightened men occasioned violent debates. The disorder rose to its height. His Majesty the King endeavoured to announce sentiments of moderation; he was immediately reproached with favouring the enemies of the state. He

* The first of September.

resolved to withdraw.* Several other sittings followed, not less scandalous than the former; and the terrible laws passed against the Dissidents were imprudently enacted. The Russian troops then advanced to the gates of Warsaw. Fear opened the eyes of the diet. They flattered themselves with the hope of satisfying her Imperial Majesty, by an extension of religious liberty, in favour of the Dissidents. But this palliation was by no means satisfactory to Catharine. The Dissidents, who demanded a complete equality of religious and political privileges with the Catholics, formed themselves into various confederations, to which many of the latter, gained over by the Russians, associated their influence.

Catharine was induced to make a division of Poland, that she might afterwards secure an easier conquest. Her precautions were so well adjusted, that the King of Prussia, not less ambitious than herself, eagerly seconded her views; and the cabinets of London, of Stockholm, and of Berlin, who seemed to favour nothing but the interests of religion, silently applauded these measures of despoliation.

Fresh troubles augmented still the dissensions of Poland. Catholic nobles, under the appellation of mal-contents, formed associations in all the provinces, who re-united themselves in

* The Bishop of Kioff had already taken the liberty to say, in an assembly, 'That, if they would follow his advice, they would hang the King; because there were surely still some men to be found among the Poles charitable enough to render that service to the state.' This same prelate afterwards added audacity to frantic zeal; and went so far as to tell his Majesty, in presence of the whole court, 'I formerly prayed to God for your prosperity; I now entreat him to send you to the devil.'

one general confederacy, of which Prince Radziville was appointed Marshal. This Prince had been one of the greatest opponents to the election of Poniatowsky. He affected to despise rather than hate him. He no sooner saw him abandoned by the Russians than he formed a junction of his confederation with those of the Dissidents, the chiefs of which he convoked in his own palace at Warsaw, under the very eyes of the monarch.

In this extremity, Stanislaus Augustus, who felt the necessity of recovering the protection of Russia, assembled a diet extraordinary. But that diet disappointed his expectations. Notwithstanding the presence of the Russian army, and the haughty demeanor of Prince Repnin, who lorded it in Warsaw much more than the King himself, the Bishop of Cracow and his adherents, always rash, always fanatical, spoke against the Dissidents in terms which prudence, if not sound policy, should have interdicted. They soon became victims of their indiscretion. That same evening,* when the Bishop was seated at table, in Count Minizeck's house, Igelstrom, the Russian Colonel, followed by a detachment of soldiers, entered, and, in the name of the Empress, without the least opposition from any person, seized the prelate. The Bishop of Kioff, Count Rzeursky, Staroste of Dolin, his eldest son†, and some other nobles, were separately arrested.

The day following this outrage, Prince Repnin addressed a note to the confederates, in which

* 13th October.

† The second son of Count Rzeursky requested to share his father's fetters. He was informed that there was no order for his arrest.

he pretended to have violated the liberty of the Poles merely to enhance the benefit of Poland.*

The members of the diet sent up an address to the King, requesting him to claim the prisoners. The King immediately prayed Prince Repnin to release them; but Repnin rejected the petition with unbecoming disdain; and sent them to the utmost extent of the deserts of Siberia; from whence they did not return till after an exile of six years.†

However, the deliberations of the diet were continued under the impulses of fear; and after several useless sittings, a committee was nominated for settling the rights of the Dissidents,

* The declaration of Prince Repnin, delivered to the confederated estates, was as follows: 'Friends and allies of the confederated republic, the troops of her Imperial Majesty, my sovereign, have arrested the Bishop of Cracow, the Bishop of Kioff, the Staroste of Dolin, &c. for having failed, by their conduct, in the respect that is due to the dignity of her Imperial Majesty; and having attacked the purity of her wise, disinterested, and amicable intentions in favour of the republic. The illustrious general confederation of the republic, of the crown, and of Lithuania, being under the protection of her Imperial Majesty, the undersigned notifies this to that assembly, with positive and solemn assurances of the continuance of her high protection, and of the assistance and support of her Imperial Majesty to the general confederation united for the preservation of the Polish laws and liberties, with redress of all the abuses that have crept into the government contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire. Her Majesty is only desirous of the welfare of the republic, and will not discontinue to grant it her assistance towards the attainment of that desirable end, (without any interest or pecuniary consideration) wishing for no other recompence than the safety, the happiness, and the liberty of the Polish nation; according to what has been already clearly expressed in the declarations of her Imperial Majesty, which guarantee to the republic its actual possessions, as well as its laws, its form of government, and the prerogatives of each individual. Done at Warsaw, the 14th of October, 1767.

(Signed) 'NICHOLAS PRINCE REPNIN.'

† In the beginning of the year 1773.

in concert with the ministers of those courts by whom they were patronized. They applied for orders to Prince Repnin, whose anti-chamber was the resort of the Plenipotentiaries from Prussia, England, Denmark, and Sweden; and when the committee had received these orders, report of them was made to the diet, who were careful not to contradict them. The Dissidents, therefore, obtained whatever the Russian Ambassador was pleased to demand in their behalf. The ancient laws to which they appealed were once more put in force; and others were enacted still more favourable to them. But it was, doubtless, nothing more than an act of justice, which had nothing against it but the manner in which it was executed. Tho' e rights had been arbitrarily abolished; it was therefore an act of justice to restore them. The sole cause of affliction to the true friends of the liberty of Poland was a heap of regulations admitted by the orders of Catharine, with a view to prolong the troubles and anarchy of that unhappy country; and to leave it for ever defenceless against the usurpations which she had then in contemplation.

In Warsaw a servile obedience had suddenly succeeded to the excesses of lofty independence. But this situation, impelled by force, could not long continue. Murmurs were on every tongue, and vengeance at the bottom of every heart. No sooner had the diet broke up than the Catholic nobles, clamorous in their complaints on account of the laws promulgated in favour of the Dissidents, formed new confederations for the defence of the Catholic faith. The confederates had standards, upon which were painted the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus: they, like the crusaders of the fifteenth century, wore crosses embroidered on their clothes; and, what was more ridiculous

still, they put themselves under the protection of the Turks: the disciples of Mohammed prepared to fight for a cause affirmed to be that of Jesus Christ.

Stanislaus Augustus, unable either to inspire his subjects with confidence, or to recover the friendship of the Russians, was the subject of general accusation to all parties, and lived in his capital more like a prisoner than a King. Catharine would perhaps have willingly pardoned him for some moments of defection, but this was opposed by the influence of Orloff. Prince Repnin commanded like a despot in Warsaw; and, to flatter the favourite of his Sovereign, he omitted no opportunity to humble a weak and an unfortunate King. We shall just cite one single fact to prove what little respect the Russian Ambassador entertained for the Polish Monarch. One evening, when the King was at the theatre, the Ambassador made it late before he came. Upon his not appearing, the curtain was drawn up, and the piece begun. The performers were in the second act when Repnin entered his box; and, offended that they had not waited for him, ordered them to stop the performance, and begin the piece again.

However, the conduct of Russia excited the astonishment of Europe; it was thought inconceivable that Catharine should become, all at once, the enemy of a King whom she herself had placed upon the throne. But what effect could the faint remembrance of an extinguished passion have upon the heart of a Princess, whose aim it was, by flattering Poland, to domineer over the northern powers, and make herself formidable to those of the south?

She was well assured that the King of Prussia desired nothing better than to share with her the

Polish provinces. At her pleasure she managed Sweden and Denmark; the one by intrigues, and the other by the hope she held out of the cession of Holstein. She flattered England by a treaty of alliance and commerce. All seemed to concur in favouring her ambition.

The Duke de Choiseul, who, under the appearance of levity, concealed a penetrating genius, and who perhaps was deficient in nothing to render him a great minister but perseverance in his designs, and want of prudence in dissipating the treasures of France, was the first to discover Catharine's secret views. He saw that the augmentation of power which she was upon the point of acquiring would have a natural tendency to diminish the consideration and influence of the court of Versailles. He resolved to attack the evil in its rise; and, in order to defeat the projects of Russia, by dissipating its resources, he undertook to involve her in a war with the Ottoman porte.

The minister then addressed himself to Count de Vergennes, Ambassador from France to Constantinople; and, when he had stated to him the reasons for his apprehensions, exhorted him to second his projects. The Duke de Choiseul was not ignorant either of the weakness and decline of the Ottoman empire, nor the vices of a government to which that weakness was solely to be attributed: but he still thought it expedient to employ Russia for some time to come; and, whatever might be the success of the war, he wished him to undertake it.

Vergennes, with equal ability and zeal, promoted the views of his court. A long residence in Turkey had afforded him an intimate knowledge of the principal members of the divan, and the means of succeeding with them. He ne-

glected not those means. He represented to the Ottoman ministers the injustice and danger consequent upon the violation of the rights of the Poles, and the invasion of their territory. He convinced them that the demarcation of the limits exacted by the court of Petersburg would be attended with consequences fatal to the security of the Euxine ; and advised them to oppose that demarcation.*

The Porte, whose succour the Polish confederates had already implored, complied immediately with the advice of Vergennes. The Turkish ministry sent a note to the King of Poland, demanding a suspension of the regulation about the limits; until some explanations should be given him, of a nature sufficiently satisfactory to remove his alarms concerning the danger with which the cession of the Polish territory threatened the Ottoman empire. But Stanislaus Augustus, ever fearful of giving umbrage to Catharine, and desirous, whatever it might cost him, of regaining her friendship, answered the Grand Seignor, that there was not the least proposal of altering the limits between Russia and Poland ; and this assurance plunged the divan, for some time, into its accustomed apathy.

The court of Petersburg then † concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with that of London ; a treaty by which the privileges of the English were extended, the duties of importation

* The Duke de Choiseul had authorised M. de Vergennes to use the most efficacious measures for inducing the Turks to declare war against Russia. ‘ If you have any expectation of success, if you think it possible,’ he writes to him, ‘ every necessary supply of money shall be transmitted to you.’—M. de Vergennes had the merit of wishing to employ no other means than those of persuasion. These were sufficient for him.

† In the month of December.

on their merchandize lessened, and considerable advantages conferred upon them. Her natural inclination for England, as well as the desire of securing additional succours in the war which she was then meditating against the Turks, determined Catharine to form an alliance with the court of London.

However, just at this period, when Catharine displayed her partiality in a most signal manner to the British nation, she treated the English minister without regard; between whom and one of her maids of honour, an affair of gallantry became so public, that the Empress could no longer pretend ignorance of the matter; she therefore dismissed the guilty lady, and gave the minister a temporary dismission from court.

This instance of Catharine's severity, doubtless, formed a striking contrast with her own behaviour. She must have strangely deceived herself, if she imagined that *her* indulgences were unobserved; but it is, nevertheless, certain, that she sometimes assumed, in the presence of those who knew her best, as great austerity of manners as hypocritical attachment to the duties of religion. Two ladies* of her court, of whom one had formerly been her confidant, being at a masquerade, talked pretty loud concerning one of their admirers: the Empress went up to them, and, with a stern countenance, ordered them to quit the ball-room, since they knew no better how to regard decorum.

The hauteur that Catharine affected was neither calculated to gain the affection of her courtiers, nor to contribute to the tranquillity of the empire. Princess Daschkoff had been, for the second time, banished to Moscow.

* Madame Narishkin and Madame Goloffkin.

That young lady, who seemed to indulge a gratification for braving dangers, revenged herself for the ingratitude she had experienced, by revealing the crimes of a conspiracy in which she had acted one of the principal parts, as well as by fomenting discontents inspired by the Empress. Without esteeming Princess Daschkoff, many persons shared her resentments; and the fire of sedition, which she artfully stirred up, had made daily progress.

Being informed of the murmurs at Moscow, Catharine pretended to despise, and resolved to suppress them, by her presence. But as the severity of the winter would scarcely permit her to take a long journey, she endeavoured, in the mean time, to divert the disaffected by tumultuous pleasures which she contrived for the court. Petersburg now saw two or three tournaments, at which the Russian courtiers, arrayed in the habits and armour of the ancient knights, displayed more magnificence than gallantry, and greater strength than skill. These expensive and frivolous shows were beheld with general disapprobation.* Nothing, however, was neglected that could give magnificence and effect to this exhibition.

The ladies of the court, as well as the chevaliers, were divided into four quadrilles, or troops of horse, each of which represented combatants of four different nations: Sclavonians, Turks,

* In the amphitheatre, erected on purpose for the occasion, were two superb boxes, for the Empress and the Grand Duke. In the centre of the arena was raised a throne, whereon sat the grand judge of the exercises, surrounded by forty officers, four heralds at arms, and two trumpets for the purpose of giving signals. Besides these, at four several places, all equally distant from the circus, were kettle-drums and trumpets, making warlike music during the whole time of the carouzel.

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Indians, and Romans. At the head of the two latter quadrilles Gregory Orloff and his brother appeared.*

The famous Marshal Count Munich had been appointed grand judge of the field, and, previous to decreeing the prizes, delivered the following speech; which shews how far the veteran soldier was acquainted with the insidious art of flattery:

‘ *Illustrious ladies and chevaliers,*

‘ Not one among you is ignorant that not a single day passes, not a single moment, in which we do not experience the exertions of our most gracious Sovereign, towards augmenting the splendour of her empire, enlarging the sphere of happiness among her subjects in general, and towards adding to the lustre of her nobility in particular.

‘ This incomparable Sovereign has made choice of this grand day, to afford the prime nobility of her empire an opportunity of signalizing their skill in the martial exercises of a brilliant carouzel, and such as never before was seen in Russia. Who does not partake with me in sentiments of admiration and gratitude so justly due to her Majesty for this act of goodness and maternal care?

‘ *Illustrious ladies and chevaliers,* in these noble exercises you have acquitted yourselves in

* The four quadrilles rode in great pomp through the principal streets of the city, previous to their assembling in the circus.

The ladies of the court jousted at these tournaments, as well as the chevaliers. Tilting at the ring, cutting off the heads of ferocious animals and Saracens, artificially represented; then tossing up the head, and catching it on the point of the sabre; letting off a pistol at a shield, with a variety of achievements of a similar nature; all performed at full gallop, and exactly in time with the music, formed the other parts of this magnificent entertainment.

a manner worthy of your birth ; adapted to assure you of having merited the gracious favour of her Majesty, the approbation of my Lord the Grand Duke, and the well-earned tribute of universal applause.'

Then, turning towards Countess de Butterlin,* who had gained the principal prize, valued at 5000 roubles, he said,

' To you, Madam, her Imperial Majesty authorizes me to present the first prize, the acquisition of uncommon dexterity and gracefulness which have carried away the suffrages of all beholders. Let me have the honour, Madam, first to congratulate you on that distinction, which confers on you the glorious right of distributing, with your own victorious hands, the other prizes to the ladies and chevaliers.

' As for me, grown hoary under arms during a space of sixty-five years service;† the most aged as well as the oldest General in Europe ; after having had the glory, more than once, of leading the Russian armies on to conquest ; I regard, as a recompence that crowns all my toils, the honour of having been this day, not only the witness, but the first umpire of your brilliant exploits.'‡

* Countess de Butterlin was sister to Princess Daschkoff and Countess Elizabeth Romanowna Woronzoff, the favourite of Peter III.

† He was at that time 84 years of age.

‡ After this distribution, the company, amounting to some hundred persons, sat down to a splendid supper, the dessert at the conclusion of which admirably represented the circus wherein the carouzel had been performed. All the Imperial summer-gardens were illuminated throughout, the walks lighted with numerous arches of lamps burning with naphtha, temples of one general radiance, illuminated fountains, and magnificent fireworks ; the whole festival terminating with a masquerade in these gardens, which continued till day-light the following morning.

But Catharine knew how to employ means more honourable for the establishment of her authority. Her leisure was occupied in useful reforms and beneficial institutions. She corrected the tribunals, she founded schools, she built hospitals, she planted colonies; she endeavoured to inspire her people with a love for the laws, and to civilize their manners by wholesome instruction. Jealous of unbounded power, avaricious of every species of glory, she aspired at once to the name of conqueror and legislatrix. Amidst conspiracies, formed with a design to overturn her throne, occupied in martial preparations, apparently sufficient to command her whole attention, and yet abandoned to intrigues of gallantry, Catharine was unmindful of no device that could attract respect and captivate admiration.

At that time there was no country of which the jurisprudence was more intricate and uncertain than that of Russia. The perplexed code of Alexis Michaelowitsch, forming a basis to the legislation, was at least contradicted, if not altogether abrogated, by the numerous edicts of his successors; edicts, promulgated by interest or momentary caprice. The senate, the colleges, all the tribunals of the empire, embarrassed by such accumulated authorities and such opposite laws, protracted the issue of causes without end, or terminated them abruptly without justice. To these evils a greater yet was added, the venality of the judges, and their unlimited power.*

Catharine resolved to remedy such flagrant

* The lowest judge, who frequently could not read, arbitrarily examined the culprits, condemned a man to the knout, or banished him into Siberia.

disorders. She assigned to the senate and colleges separate departments, which, being fixed to particular business, independent of each other, necessarily proceeded in a more regular way, executed the public duties with greater dispatch, and opened fewer avenues to artifice and chicanery. But, then, in order to deprive the judges of the least pretext for negligence or prevarication, she augmented their salaries of office, a means unhappily insufficient to suppress their speculation; but it proves that Catharine was well acquainted with the spirit of the nation which she governed. Had the magistrates, indeed, possessed a grain of virtue, would it not have rather been stimulated to suppress injustice from sentiments of reputation, than the base allurements of pecuniary rewards? The Empress therefore set that spring in motion which she thought would act upon them with the greatest force. She says, in the Ukase addressed to them, ‘Indigence may perhaps, heretofore, have induced you to listen to self interest; but the country itself now rewards your labours; what, therefore, might have been deemed a venial offence, will henceforward be considered highly criminal.’

Catharine did more than augment the judges’ salaries; she secured to them half-pay for that season of life when, from age and infirmities, they might be obliged to retire from their situations.

This primary consideration being terminated, the Empress fixed her attention upon a new code of laws.

All the provinces of Russia, not excepting those barbarous nations who dwell in the remotest parts of that vast empire, received orders to send deputies to Moscow, in order to submit their ideas upon such laws as they conceived best adapted to their peculiar states. Catha-

rine herself repaired to the ancient capital. The council was opened with extraordinary pomp. To see deputies from a numerous people, different in manners, in dress, in languages, was, doubtless, a spectacle both interesting and new; and, to people whose obedience to the arbitrary will of a master, often not so much as known to them, occupied their whole attention, this assemblage for the discussion of laws must have appeared a matter of astonishment.

The Empress, desirous of leaving this assembly, in appearance at least, to the completest liberty, had a sort of tribune erected in the hall, but of such a construction that, without being perceived, she could see and hear all that passed. The business commenced by reading the instructions translated into Russian, of which the original, in French, almost entirely in the handwriting of her Majesty, has been since enclosed in a magnificent case of silver gilt, and deposited in the library of the Imperial academy of sciences at Petersburg.*

* 'The Sovereigns of Russia possessed the most extensive dominions of the world, and every thing was yet to be done: at last,' says M. de Voltaire, [History of the Russian Empire, vol. i. p. 74.] 'Peter was born, and Russia was formed;' that is, doubtless, to say, that at this period it arose out of chaos. The bare idea of making it was grand, and its execution might justly excite astonishment. Czar Alexis Michaelowitsch, his father, had already sketched out the work, and it must be confessed that Peter advanced it to a surprising degree. To leave his country, that he might return to govern it with greater glory; to go and seek light in all parts where it enlightened mankind; to submit for several years to be the disciple of other nations, in order to become the master and the reformer of his own; to work as a simple carpenter at Saardam, to prepare himself for building a navy that should be formidable to his enemies; to lower himself to a common soldier, in order to become a great commander;

Frequent bursts of applause interrupted the reading of the instructions. The sagacity, the wisdom, the humanity of their Sovereign was extolled to the skies. But fear and flattery were more predominant, in these extatic raptures, than admiration. By that means they anticipated the favour of her Majesty, or at least an escape from Siberia. The deputies of the Samoyedes alone had the courage to speak freely. One of them stood up, and, in the name of his brethren, said, 'We are a simple but honest people. We quietly tend the pasture of our rein-deer. We are in no want of a new code of laws, but desire the enactment of such as will put a stop to the depredations of our neighbours, the Russians.'

The following sittings did not pass off so quietly. It had been proposed to emancipate

to form on all hands establishments of great utility, till then unknown to his subjects; to attack at once all the abuses both in church and state, in the manners and customs that had been most sanctioned by inveterate habit; to extend reformation and care to every particular that was deserving of them; to temper the severity of his discipline by the total abolition of the word slave; to mix pomp with toil, and annex prosperity to triumphs; all together characterised him, as the great genius, the great man, and the great monarch.'

But if that Prince, so justly renowned to all posterity, polished his country in so many respects; if he made regulations, worthy of admiration and praise, with all this he framed no permanent laws, and much less a system of legislation that should embrace all objects. That great work* was left for Catharine II. She alone conceived the grand idea of undertaking it, and she alone had the courage to put it in execution. A code of laws, and especially laws founded on wisdom, is the noblest present that can be made to a people: no woman had yet been a legislatrix; and that part the Empress of Russia resolved to act.

* This work is taken from the writings of Montesquieu, and several other French philosophers; but it must always redound to the glory of Catharine that she drew information from such sources.

the peasantry. Several thousands of these oppressed beings were preparing to support by force what they expected from equity. The nobility dreaded an insurrection: but their greatest fear was a defalcation of their revenues; and some were rash enough to assert, that they would stab the first man who should move for the enfranchisement of their vassals.* Notwithstanding this menace, Count Scheremetoff, the richest individual in Russia,† declared that he would willingly agree to this emancipation. The debates grew warm, from which fatal consequences were apprehended; the deputies were, therefore, dismissed to their respective provinces.

However, previous to the dissolution of this assembly, the members were requested to signalize the convocation by some splendid act of gratitude. Though the benefit intended for the subjects was not brought to a successful issue, it was thought highly indecorous that the Sovereign, who had conceived the noble idea, should pass unrewarded. The titles of *Great, Wise, Prudent, and Mother of the Country*, were accordingly decreed to the Empress; but when the assembly petitioned her acceptance of those titles, she replied, with fictitious modesty, 'That if she rendered herself worthy of the first, it was posterity that must confer the obligation; as for wisdom and prudence, these were gifts from Heaven, for which she offered daily thanks, without attributing any merit to herself; but, lastly, the title of *Mother of the Country* was, of

* This fact has been several times attested by Andrew Schwaloff, known in France by his pretty Epistle to Ninon.

† Potemkin was not as yet a favourite. Count Scheremetoff possessed an income of 170,000 pounds sterling. He had 150,000 peasants belonging to him.

all the rest, the most precious in her estimation, it was the only one that she could accept; the only one that she regarded as the most endearing, the most glorious recompence for all her toils and solicitudes in behalf of a people whom she cherished.'

Proud of a work which had produced marks of homage so gratifying to her feelings, Catharine eagerly dispatched copies of her instructions to those Sovereigns, whose approbation she ambitiously desired. Compliments profusely teemed from every quarter; her laborious enterprize excited astonishment, and, without hesitation, was pronounced an eternal monument of her renown. The King of Prussia, who knew the vanity of her mind, and, with less delicacy than ease, was always lavish of praise, wrote to her a long letter, which, among others, contained this flattering observation: 'No woman has hitherto been a legislatrix. That glory was reserved for the Empress of Russia, and she well deserves it.'

The Empress received this letter at Casan; having longed to visit her Asiatic provinces, and the famous banks of the Wolga.*

* The letter was couched in the following terms:

'Madam, my sister,

'I must begin by thanking your Imperial Majesty for the favour you have conferred upon me in the communication of your work on legislation. Permit me to say, that it is a business which has had but few examples in the world; and I may venture to add, Madam, that your Imperial Majesty is the first Empress who has made such a present as that which I have just now received. The ancient Greeks, who were all appreciators of merit, in their deifications of great men, assigned the first place to legislators, whom they deemed the true benefactors of the human race. They would have placed your Imperial Majesty between Lycurgus and Solon.

'I made it my first duty, Madam, to read the excellent work which your Majesty has vouchsafed to compose; and,

What appears somewhat strange is, that while Catharine endeavoured to build her fame upon

that I might keep my mind free from all prepossession, I considered it as coming from a well-known pen. I confess to you, Madam, that I was charmed, not only with the principles of humanity and gentleness that gave birth to these laws, but also with the order, with the association of ideas, with the uncommon clearness and precision that reign in this work, and the immense variety of knowledge disseminated throughout.

‘ I put myself, Madam, in your place, and I immediately perceived that every country demands particular considerations, which require the legislator to comply with the genius of the nation, in the same manner as the gardener accommodates himself to his soil. There are designs which your Imperial Majesty is satisfied with pointing out, and on which your prudence prevents you from insisting. In a word, Madam, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people whom you govern with so much glory, I see enough of it to persuade me, that if they govern themselves by your laws, they will be the happiest nation in the world; and since your Imperial Majesty is desirous of knowing all that I think on that matter, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to tell it naturally.

‘ It is, Madam, that good laws, formed on the principles that you have traced out, will require lawyers for their being put in execution in your vast domains; and I think, Madam, that, after the good you have just been doing in legislation, you have another boon to grant, which is the institution of an academy of law, for the education of persons designed for the bar, as well judges as advocates. However simple the several laws may be, cases of litigation, cases complicated and obscure, will arise, in which it will be necessary to draw up truth from the well, which require expert advocates and judges to unravel them.

‘ This, on my honour, is all that I have to say to your Imperial Majesty, unless it be, Madam, that this estimable monument of your labour and your activity, with which you condescend to trust me, shall be preserved as one of the choicest pieces in my library. Were there any thing, Madam, capable of augmenting my admiration, it would be the benefit you have herein bestowed upon your immense people.

‘ Accept, with your accustomed goodness, the assurances of the high consideration with which I am,

‘ Madam, my sister,

‘ Your Imperial Majesty’s good brother and ally,

(Signed)

‘ FREDERIC.’

a solid basis, she considered it a matter of great importance to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the title of Imperial Majesty, which some of them had refused her. The King of Sweden had long since acceded to her request ; but the Swedish diet did not grant its consent till the commencement of this year, 1767.*

Lewis XV. pertinaciously abstained from giving her that qualification. Knowing that the Sovereigns of Russia had only assumed the title of Emperor from the time of Peter the Great, he considered them in some degree as a new race of nobility : he did not reflect that it is the power of princes, and not the antiquity of their origin, on which their rights are founded. The refusal of the King of France mortified Catharine's pride ; but this was not the only reason that irritated her mind against that monarch. She had no doubt that his Majesty was informed of all the secrets pertaining to the conspiracy by

Count Solms, Minister of the King of Prussia, on sending this letter to Count Panin, wrote him a note to the following purport : ' I hasten to transmit to your Excellency the letter which the King my master has had the honour to compose, in answer to that with which her Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to accompany the present of her instruction for the formation of the new code in Russia, ordering me to cause it to be presented to her Imperial Majesty. He subjoins, with his own hand, in the dispatch which he has addressed to me : " I have read with admiration the work of the Empress. I was not willing to tell her all that I think of it, because she might have suspected me of flattery ; but I may say to you, with due deference to modesty, that it is a masculine performance, nervous, and worthy of a great man. We are told by history, that Semiramis commanded armies. Queen Elizabeth has been accounted a good politician. The Empress Queen has shewn great intrepidity on her accession to the throne ; but no woman has ever been a legislatrix. That glory was reserved for the Empress of Russia, and she well deserves it."

* The 6th of February.

which she was placed on the throne ; and she knew, likewise, that the French Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte had for some time laboured to force from the Turks a declaration of war against Russia.

What then would have been her thoughts if she had read a letter, upon this subject, which which was written by the Duke de Choiseul ?— ‘ We know,’ said he, ‘ the ill-judged animosity of the court of Russia against France. The King so heartily despises at once the Princess who reigns in that country, her sentiments and her conduct, that it is our intention not to take a single step in order to induce a change in her opinion. The King thinks the hatred of Catharine II. to be far more honourable than her friendship. At the same time he is desirous of avoiding the crash of an open rupture.’

But the caballing spirit of a foreign court and the dangers arising from war could not occasion great inquietude to Catharine ; perhaps they were even as necessary to her as the cares she bestowed on the administration of the empire, in order to elude that remorse and those terrific ideas which might occasionally haunt her mind. She often reflected that one fatal moment might despoil her of the fruit of all her crimes, and to that moment some of her subjects might be looking with eager desire. The name of Peter III. was become dear to the Russians. They recollected with pleasure the good he had done, and the desire he had of doing still more ; they forgot his failings, his infirmities, more than expiated by a series of misfortunes. The remembrance of his deplorable end started the tear of sympathy ; and among the multitude of malcontents dispersed throughout the empire, more than a solitary individual might be found

lurking in secret to avenge their murdered Prince.

Sensibly affected with the lamentable death of the Czar, and viewing with indignation his murderers dividing his power, a young officer, named Tschoglokoff, resolved to avenge his master, and in the height of enthusiasm thought himself even inspired with the design by Heaven. After having well reflected on the means of executing his sanguinary project, he resorted to the palace for several days successively; and always lurked in some of the dark passages that lead to the inner apartments, whither the Empress retired in her hours of studious meditation. Chance, on this occasion, accidentally saved her Majesty, by turning her out of the accustomed passage in which Tschoglokoff waited her approach. Disconcerted by this unforeseen delay, and impatient to strike a blow which he thought beneficial to his country, and honourable to himself, this young man had the rash imprudence to confide his secret to another officer whom he supposed his friend. This officer immediately betrayed him. Orloff, informed of the measures that were taken by Tschoglokoff, at the very instant when he again way-laid the Empress, had him arrested in his ambuscade. He was armed with a long poignard; and he confessed, without hesitation, the use for which he designed it. Catharine, whose indignation and fears were always concealed by that magnanimity ever conspicuous in her character, pretended to forgive the rash attempt of a youth, become a victim to the fervour of political fanaticism. She even had the culprit introduced to her presence, and addressed him with apparent complacency. This generosity was, however, merely apparent. She en-

deavoured to conceal an attempt from the public eye, which, had it been spread abroad, might soon have excited repetition. But, as she did not flatter herself with the entire conversion of one who, from excess of humanity, had nearly become an assassin ; she ordered Tschoglokoff to be committed without delay, and banished to the wilds of the Siberian desarts.

About this time the Empress conceived the useful project of sending several men of science to make a tour in her extensive dominions ; by which they might be enabled to determine the geographical position of the principal places ; to mark the temperature of their climate ; to examine into the nature of their soil ; gain a knowledge of their various productions ; estimate the extent of their wealth ; as well as derive a necessary information of the manners and peculiarities characteristic of the several people by whom they were inhabited.

Provided with every thing that might concur to ensure success to an enterprize in itself so noble, Pallas and Falk departed * for the districts of the Wolga, and the governments of Orenburg, of Ekatherinenburg, and Kasan. Gmelin and Guldenstatd were, at the same time, ordered to visit the banks of the Don and the Donick as far as the Dnieper, as well as all that country which extends from Astrakan to the frontiers of Persia†. To this undertaking it is

* In the month of January, 1768.

† ‘ A country of such a prodigious extent as the Russian empire, must naturally attract the notice of every man who wishes to increase his knowledge, whether it be considered in regard to the astonishing number of tribes and nations by which it is inhabited, the great diversity of climates under which they live, or the almost infinite quantity of natural curiosities with which it abounds. But the greater part of this country is still immersed in the profoundest barbarism,

that we are indebted for the interesting works of Pallas and Gmelin.

Well knowing, that it is not so much by the power of arms as by superiority in arts and sciences that nations obtain a conspicuous place in the annals of mankind, Catharine, with a laudable zeal, encouraged scholars and artists. She conferred new privileges on the academy of sciences at Petersburg, and exhorted its members to add the names of several celebrated foreigners to those which already shone with conspicuous lustre in their academy.

She also increased the number of pupils in the academy of arts, instituted in the reign of Elizabeth, and added such regulations for its government as tended chiefly to insure the completion of its beneficial endowment. Scholars from that time were not to be admitted after the age of

and almost inaccessible to the investigations of the ordinary traveller. Here vagrant hordes of people, who, entirely addicted to the pastoral life, roam from place to place, shunning the social manners of towns and villages, negligent of agriculture, and leaving uncultivated and almost in a desert state vast tracts of land blessed with the most favourable soil and the most happy temperature of seasons: there, peasants, and even in many places inhabitants of towns, slaves to a thousand prejudices, languish in bondage to the most stupid superstitions; brought up, besides, in the severest servitude, and, being accustomed to obey by no other means than blows, are forced to submit to the harshest treatment: none of those affectionate admonitions, those prudent and impelling motives, which usually urge mankind to action, make any impression on their degraded minds; they reluctantly labour the fields of a hard master, and studiously conceal from his knowledge those riches which some accident, so desirable in other countries, should have led them to discover; as they would only augment the number of their toils and the heaviness of their yoke. Hence that careless contempt for the treasures presented them by nature, and the neglect of those bounties she lavishes on them. Hence those immense deserts almost totally destitute of cultivation, and so many towns that are falling to decay.

six years, that the defects of a bad education might not have grown to a sufficient height to corrupt their understanding and debase their character. Entrusted for three years to the care of women, they are then consigned to the hands of tutors, and devoted to the study of that art to which they shew the greatest inclination. They may become painters, sculptors, architects, watchmakers, or learn the art of casting metals and of making mathematical and optical instruments. During the whole time of their residence in the academy they are not permitted to receive any thing from their parents. They are clothed, boarded, and lodged at the public expence. At the end of fifteen years they leave the academy; and, if their behaviour corresponds with the pains that have been bestowed on their education, they are granted patents of nobility.

Independently of these advantages, those of the pupils who have gained the highest prizes receive pensions for three years, to enable them to travel over Europe.

1768 “ At this time, the small-pox was very rife in St. Petersburg, which occasioned the Empress, and the Grand Duke, her son, to remain at Tzarsko-selo, instead of coming to town as usual. The Countess Scheremetoff was carried off by that distemper a few days before she was to have been married to Count Panin, for which event great preparations had been made. It was neither possible, nor was it material, to ascertain how the infection penetrated the recesses of the court; but persons of rank and fortune were alarmed that neither one nor the other afforded any security against the ravages of this dreadful disease. The danger to which her Majesty and the Grand Duke were exposed, together with her

Majesty's zeal for the welfare of her subjects, gave rise to a proposal for introducing the practice of inoculating.

“ The first personages in the empire determined to set the example, by submitting to the operation ; and a resolution was accordingly taken by the Empress, to invite a physician from England, where inoculation had been most practised, and was generally allowed to have received some modern and very considerable improvements.*

Accordingly Dr. Thomas Dimsdale, about the beginning of July 1768, received a letter at Hertford from M. Pouschin, the Russian Minister at the court of London, representing that the Empress, having a desire to engage an able physician to go to St. Petersburg, in order to introduce inoculation, he wished to see him as soon as possible. At the interview that ensued, great encouragements were held out ; but the Doctor, from domestic considerations, at first shewed some hesitation ; when a second courier arriving, and some circumstances rendering it apparent that the Empress and Grand Duke were immediately interested in the application, he prepared for his journey with all expedition, and accordingly set out on the 28th of July.

“ Two days after his arrival, the Doctor, in consequence of a previous notice, waited on Count Panin, who, after the usual salutations, said to him, “ You are now called, Sir, to the most important employment that perhaps any gentleman was ever entrusted with. To your skill and integrity will probably be submitted

* ‘ See Tracts on Inoculation, written and published at St. Petersburg in the year 1768, by command of the Empress of Russia, by the Hon. Baron T. Dimsdale, 1781.’

no less than the precious lives of two of the greatest personages in the world ; with whose safety the tranquillity and happiness of this great empire are so intimately connected, that should an accident deprive us of either, the blessings we now enjoy might be turned to the utmost state of misery and confusion. May God avert such unspeakable calamities ! But the hazard of the infection of the small pox, in the natural way, is so threatening, that we are compelled to have recourse to the expedient of inoculation ; which, though so little known in this country, has been adopted and practised in England with the greatest success. We have physicians of great learning and abilities in their profession ; but not being experienced in this new branch of practice, her Imperial Majesty was pleased to lay her commands upon her ministers, to inquire after and engage a person of the best abilities in it, and whose success had been confirmed by long practice. You come to us well recommended in these essential points ; I shall therefore repose the utmost confidence in you, and have only to request that you will act without the least reserve.

“ As to the resolution of the Empress in this particular, with regard to herself, I must leave her Majesty to explain her own sentiments ; but with respect to the Grand Duke, he is already determined on the operation, provided you encourage it : it has been submitted to his own consideration ; he approves, and even wishes it. I have, therefore, to request, that before an affair of so great consequence is finally settled, you would make yourself well acquainted with his constitution and state of health.

“ His Imperial Highness knows you are arrived, expects to see you, and invites you to

wait on him to-morrow. I can venture to assure you, that he will be easy of access, and willing to be acquainted with you. Be with him as much as possible; see him at his table, and at his amusements; make your observations, and, in short, study his constitution. Let us not be too precipitate; but when every circumstance has been duly attended to, report your opinion freely; and depend on this; that if you should deem the operation hazardous, and advise against it, we shall think ourselves equally obliged to you; nor will the acknowledgments on account of this expedition be inferior to what it will be upon the utmost success."

' In answer to this, the Doctor assured the Count, that he would in every respect attend to his intimations, and that he might depend on his making a just report.

' The Empress came to town that evening, and the next day, the two Dimsdales were presented. On this occasion there were only present with her Majesty Count Panin and Baron Cherkasoff, President of the College of Medicine, who having been educated at the university of Cambridge, spoke very good English. Catharine shewed great perspicacity in the questions she put concerning the practice and success of inoculation. On his retiring, Dr. Dimsdale was invited to dine with her Majesty the same day; and as the account of the manners observed at the Empress's table will neither be foreign to our purpose, nor unentertaining to the reader, we shall give it in the Doctor's own words:

" The Empress sat singly at the upper end of a long table, at which about twelve of the nobility were guests. The entertainment consisted of a variety of excellent dishes, served up after the French manner, and was concluded by a

dessert of the finest fruits and sweetmeats, such as I little expected to find in that northern climate. Most of these luxuries were, however, the produce of the Empress's own dominions. Pine apples, indeed, are chiefly imported from England, though those of the growth of Russia, of which we had one that day, are of good flavour, but generally small. Water-melons and grapes are brought from Astrakan; great plenty of melons from Moscow, and apples and pears from the Ukraine.

“ But what enlivened the whole entertainment was the most unaffected ease and affability of the Empress herself. Each of her guests had a share of her attention and politeness; the conversation was kept up with a freedom and cheerfulness to be expected rather from persons of the same rank, than from subjects admitted to the honour of their Sovereign's company.”

“ On the following day another conversation with the Empress ensued, in which Dr. Dimsdale requested the assistance of the court physicians, to whom he desired to communicate every proposed regulation and medicine; but the Empress would by no means consent to any such consultation, and gave her reasons as follows:’

“ You are come well recommended to me; the conversation I have had with you on this subject has been very satisfactory; and my confidence in you is increased. I have not the least doubt of your abilities and knowledge in this practice; it is impossible that my physicians can have much skill in this operation; they want experience; their interposition may tend to embarrass you, without the least probability of giving any useful assistance. My life is my own; and I shall with the utmost cheerfulness and confidence rely on your care alone. With regard

to my constitution, you could receive no information from them. I have had, I thank God, so good a share of health, that their advice has never been required; and you shall, from myself, receive every information that can be necessary. I have also to acquaint you, that it is my determination to be inoculated before the Grand Duke, and as soon as you judge it convenient. At the same time I desire that this may remain a secret business; and I enjoin you to let it be supposed that, for the present, all thoughts of my own inoculation are laid aside. The preparation of this great experiment on the Grand Duke will countenance your visits to the palace; and I desire to see you as often as it may seem necessary, that you may become still better acquainted with what relates to my constitution, and also for adjusting the time, and other circumstances, of my own inoculation."

' He promised obedience to her Majesty's commands; and only proposed that some experiments might first be made by inoculating some of her own sex and age, and as near as could be of similar habit. The Empress replied, "that if the practice had been novel, or the least doubt of the general success had remained, that precaution might be necessary; but, as she was well satisfied in both particulars, there would be no occasion for delay on any account."

' The Empress, on being inoculated privately, went* the next morning to Czarsko-selo, a palace about four and twenty versts from Petersburg. At first no other persons were there but the necessary attendants, it being given out that her Majesty's journey was only to give directions about some alterations, and that her stay would

* On the 12th of October.

be short. But several of the nobility soon followed, and the Empress observing among them some whom she suspected not to have had the small-pox, said to Dr. Dimsdale: "I must rely on you to give me notice when it is possible for me to communicate the disease: for, though I could wish to keep my inoculation a secret, yet far be it from me to conceal it a moment, when it may become hazardous to others." The Empress, during this interval, took part in every amusement with her usual affability, without shewing the least token of uneasiness or concern; constantly dined at the same table with the nobility; and enlivened the whole court with those peculiar graces of conversation, for which she was ever distinguished.*

‘ The Grand Duke shortly after † submitted to the operation; and, on his recovery, Catharine rewarded the services of Dr. Dimsdale by creating him a Baron of the Russian empire, and appointing him actual Counsellor of State, and Physician to her Imperial Majesty, with a pension of 500*l.* a year, to be paid him in England; besides 10,000*l.* sterling which he immediately

* ‘ Shortly after being inoculated Catharine wrote to Voltaire: “I have not kept my bed a single instant, and I have received company every day. I am going to have my only son inoculated. The Grand Master of Artillery, Count Orloff, that hero who resembles the ancient Romans in the best times of the republic, ‡ both in courage and in generosity, doubting whether he had ever had the small-pox, has put himself under the hands of our Englishman; and, the next day after the operation, went to the hunt, in a very deep fall of snow. A great number of courtiers have followed his example, and many others are preparing to do the same. Besides this, inoculation is now carried on at Petersburg, in three seminaries of education, and in an hospital established under the inspection of M. Dimsdale.”

† On the 1st of November.

‡ What Romans were these Orloffs?

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received ; and also presented him with a miniature picture of herself and another of the Grand Duke, as a memorial of his services. Her Majesty was likewise pleased to express her approbation of the conduct of his son, by conferring on him the same title, and ordering him to be presented with a superb gold snuff-box, richly set with diamonds.

The examples of these illustrious personages had such immediate influence, that most of the nobility, both at Petersburg and Moscow, were impatient to have their families inoculated. This business being happily accomplished, Baron Dimsdale was preparing to return to England, and indeed was just setting out, when a nobleman came to inform him that the Empress was desirous of seeing him. The Baron was much concerned to find her with every symptom of a pleuretic fever; and therefore, at her desire, again took up his residence in the palace. The symptoms increased ; but, upon being bled, her Majesty received immediate relief, and in a short time the most alarming symptoms abated. So soon as the Empress was recovered, which was in about three weeks, the Baron again prepared for his journey to England. Having taken his leave, and received farther proofs of the munificence of her Imperial Majesty, the Baron was attended to Riga by an officer commissioned to see that every necessary accommodation should be provided, in the same manner as at his first arrival in the country.*

* ‘ Before Baron Dimsdale took his departure from Petersburg, the Empress purchased the house that had been built by Baron Wolff, formerly British Consul in that city, for the purpose of converting it into an inoculation hospital, which she accordingly did, and the institution is still supported.’

‘ On the 3d of December, 1768, a thanksgiving service was performed in the chapel of the palace, on account of her Majesty’s recovery, and that of the Grand Duke, from the small-pox. The ceremony was very solemn and magnificent. On each side of the Imperial chapel, which is a lofty and spacious room in the winter palace, is a row of gilt Ionic columns. The walls are covered with taudry and ill-executed pictures of Russian saints. On the roof, over the catapetasma and holy doors, is a representation of the Supreme Being, in the figure of an old man in white raiment. Within a railing extending across the room, and contiguous to the pillar nearest to the holy doors, on the south side, stood the Empress and her son ; for, by the Greek ritual, no person is allowed to sit in church ; accordingly there are no seats, not even for the Sovereign, who stands all the while under a canopy, when not making the usual prostrations. In the same area, and on both sides of the sanctuary, were choristers, gaudily apparelled. All the rest of the congregation stood on the outside of the balustrade.

‘ The ceremony opened with solemn vocal music, no other being admissible in the Greek church ; to this succeeded the prayers and ejaculations, which constituted the first part of the office. Presently the folding doors of the holiest were opened from within, and displayed to view the *penetralia* of the temple. Directly opposite appeared a large picture of the descent from the cross ; on each side a gilt colonnade of the Ionic order : in the middle an altar covered with golden tissue ; and on the altar a crucifix, a three armed candlestick with lighted tapers, emblem of the Trinity ; and chalices, flagons, patens, and other holy vessels. A number of venerable

priests, with hoary heads and flowing beards, mitres studded with precious stones of every colour, and costly robes of silk and damask, stood in solemn attitudes, among the columns of this gorgeous sanctuary.

‘ From the adytum, or inmost recess, with slow and solemn steps, advanced a priest, bearing in his hand a two-branched candlestick with lighted tapers, emblematic of the hypostatic union of the two natures of the Son of God. He was followed in like manner by another, reciting prayers as he moved along, and swinging a censer smoking with fragrant odours. Advancing towards her Majesty, he waved the censer thrice before her, during which she several times gracefully bowed, and as often made the sign of the cross upon her breast. A third priest succeeded him, bearing on his arms the volume of the gospel; out of which having read some passages adapted to the occasion, he presented it to the Empress, who kissed it with great devotion.

‘ The priests then retired: the folding doors of the sanctuary were closed: the choristers sung an anthem, and were answered by musical voices from within. The intonations were deep and sublime. In a few minutes the folding doors again flew open; the ceremonies of the tapers and incense were repeated. Two priests advanced, bearing the sacred symbols, the bread and wine of the holy eucharist, veiled with cloth of gold. Having administered this,* they retired. The doors were closed, and the choral harmony resumed.

‘ The doors were opened, and the same ceremonies a third time repeated. After this the

* In the Greek church the bread and wine are mixed up toet her, and administered with a spoon.

metropolitan ascended the pulpit against a column opposite to the Empress, and delivered a discourse ; in which he celebrated her resolution and magnanimity ; and, in the course of his sermon, remarked, " that the Russians had borrowed assistance from Britain, that island famed for wisdom, bravery, and virtue." The sermon ended, several priests came from the recess, and concluded the service with prayers and benedictions.

' The senate decreed that the event of the recovery after inoculation of the Sovereign and his Imperial Highness should be solemnized by an anniversary festival, which has been regularly observed ever since.'

BOOK IV.ARGUMENT.

The Ottoman Porte declares war against Russia—Prince Henry of Prussia at Petersburg—A Russian squadron, under the command of Count Alexis Orloff, sails to the Archipelago—Victories of Count Romanzoff—Capture of Bender—Count Alexis Orloff returns to Petersburg—His conduct in Italy—Prince Lolgorouky enters the Krimea—Pestilence at Moscow—Attempt to assassinate the King of Poland—Congress at Foksbiani—Wasielitschikoff becomes favourite of the Empress—Gregory Orloff is dismissed from court.

ON the first menaces held out by Turkey, Ca¹⁷⁶⁸tharine, not yet feeling herself in a condition to declare war with advantage, protracted the settlement of the limits between Russia and Poland; but she did not, however, renounce the hope of seizing a part of that kingdom, of which she continued to divide and oppress the wretched inhabitants.*

* ‘ Those among them who were most impatient of the Russian yoke, and had the resolution to make frequent attacks upon Catharine’s armies, were totally overthrown almost as soon as they were conceived; and that unfortunate country became the theatre of the most cruel and complicated of all wars; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. Indeed the measures relative to the diet, as well as those which had for some time past directed all the transactions in that country, seemed pregnant with such seeds of discontent, as might well be expected to produce, sooner or later,

Encouraged by Austria, and particularly urged by France, they took possession of the city of Cracow, made themselves masters of a part of Podolia, and re-united in the fortress of Bar, of which the name was given to that confederation, since become notorious for its enormities and misfortunes. The Empress sent fresh reinforcements into Poland, under the command of Lieutenant-general Soltikoff. The affrighted confederates made a second application to the Porte. The Count de Vergennes, informed of this step, again intreated the divan to succour the Poles, and to resist the ambitious designs of Catharine. He succeeded in his remonstrances: her Majesty's Ambassador was shut up in the prison of Seven Towers; and the Reis Effendi delivered to the foreign ministers a manifesto,* by which the Grand Signior declared war against Russia, because she had infringed the treaties, and violated the territory of the Ottoman empire. The Turks, at the same time, announced their intention to open the campaign with an army of 500,000 men.†

some very extraordinary consequences. We have seen a foreign army, under colour of friendship, take possession of a country to which no just claim was even pretended; we have seen them, for a course of years, peremptorily dictate to the members of a once great and free nation the measures they should pursue, and the laws they should establish for their own internal government; and we have seen them seize the senators of that nation, and send them prisoners to a foreign country, for daring to have an opinion in their own national councils. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Poles, a brave and haughty nation, long nursed in independence, and whose nobles had exercised in their respective districts an almost unlimited sovereignty, should ill brook a submission to such unnatural acts of foreign power.'

* This manifesto was inclosed in a purse.

† ' The conduct of the Grand Signior, in regard to the transactions in Poland, was blameless and irreproachable, and

The Empress then neither dreaded the threats nor the undisciplined multitudes of the Ottoman armies. She had had time to prepare for her defence ; and her preparations were formidable. She caused likewise a manifesto to be delivered to all the ministers of the neutral or allied powers, and made a public declaration of war, with the usual ceremonies,* in Petersburg.

entirely consistent with the character of a good neighbour and faithful ally. The affairs of that country had, for some years past, greatly attracted the attention of the Porte ; nor could it indeed have been an indifferent spectator of the measures there lately pursued. The great and growing power of the Russian empire, and the supreme ascendant it had acquired in all the transactions of the north, were in themselves sufficient objects of jealousy to so near a neighbour. But the almost absolute dominion which it had lately acquired, and the unlimited authority it exercised, in so considerable and extensive a country, and possessed of such great natural power, as Poland, was an object of such moment, as the Sultan could not possibly have overlooked, without giving up every pretension to true policy, and even to common prudence.

* In fact, while its kings were elected, its laws passed, and its states governed under the influence of a Russian army, Poland could be considered in no other light than as a province to that empire ; and the splendid titles of kingdom and republic were only a mockery and cruel insult on its degradation. The Poles might have urged, and the Turks might have been convinced, that the pretences of fulfilling treaties, protecting the Dissidents, and guarding the freedom of election, was an useful sort of official language, which made a very good figure on paper, and had a plausible effect in manifestos, to the vulgar, or to those who were but little concerned. But these glosses could bear no political test of examination ; as reasons of the same or a similar nature might be everlastingly found for the keeping of an army in any country, under pretence of friendship or protection, and at the same time converting it to all the purposes of a conquered province. In truth, the same reasons would have held, for sending a Russian army to Constantinople, to protect the divan, to prevent riots among the janissaries, and to restore the Christians in that empire to their ancient rights and privileges.

* With the sound of the trumpet.

1769 The Russian armies began to march, and soon extended from the banks of the Danube to those of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Krimea, who had sided with the Turkish party, were the first against whom the armies of Catharine signalized their valour. General Izaakoff drove twelve thousand of them out of New Servia, which they had entered under the command of their Khan.* Masters of Azoff and Taganrog, the Russians put these two places into a condition of resisting their ancient possessors and laboured, with unremitted industry, to augment the little squadrons, which have since given them the dominion of the Black Sea.

The Cossacs of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the main body of the Russian army, passed the Dniester, and attacked thirty thousand Turks under the very ramparts of Khoczim ; but he suffered a repulse ; and the conquerors pursued him to the other side of the river.

That General then, by a manifesto, invited all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take up arms against that confederation. Soltikoff had already solemnly announced to his army, that the officers or soldiers, who should take a confederate, and grant him his life, should be severely punished.

Nine Polish nobles soon after appeared in Warsaw with both hands cut off. For this mutilation they were indebted to the cruelty of the Russian General Drewitz. The barbarian had acted towards them in the double capacity of judge and executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warsaw Prince Repnin, whose haughty demeanour disgusted the

* * In the month of March, 1769.

Poles, without even excepting among them the warmest partizans of Russia. To this Ambassador succeeded Prince Wolkonsky, who exerted himself in vain to bring about the re-confederation already proposed in the manifesto of Prince Gallitzin. The Empress clearly saw the danger consequent upon a general insurrection of the Poles against the Russians. But the efforts of her generals and the intrigues of her ministers were of less essential service to her at that time than the weakness and inattention of the court of Versailles. Had that court been so inclined, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the Porte powerfully defended, and Poland still retained its independence among the powers of Europe.*

Long before the partition of Poland was carried into execution, the Empress and the King of Prussia equally felt the necessity of conferring on that grand design. But, entertaining an idea that an interview between them would inevitably give umbrage to other potentates, by whom the motives of such a meeting might perhaps be discovered, they thought it most adviseable to decline it altogether. Frederic, then committing his instructions to Prince Henry, his brother, charged him to repair to Russia. In order more effectually to conceal the object of his journey, Prince Henry gave out, that his intentions were

* ' In order to raise all Poland in one confederacy, the very eloquent and very able General Mokronosky requested of the Duke de Choiseul no more than 2,000,000 tournois, as a subsidy, the acknowledgment of Count Vilheorsky as minister of the confederation of Bar, and the mission of an agent to it, commissioned to see that the subsidies were properly applied. The Duke de Choiseul approved of the plan; but was dissuaded from it by the court of Vienna, who had doubtless already formed secret inclinations, which discovered themselves in the dismemberment of Poland.'

merely to make a visit to his sister the Queen of Sweden. While he was at Stockholm, he announced that he should return to Prussia by the way of Denmark. But, on a sudden, he seemed to change his resolution, and yield, from a motive of complaisance to her Imperial Majesty, who, having heard that the Prince was so near her dominions, gave his Royal Highness a pressing invitation to come and see her at Petersburg. Thus, though Prince Henry had quitted Berlin with no other design than to proceed to Russia, he found means to impose the belief that he was now going upon a journey altogether unpremeditated.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm on board a galley,* that conveyed him as far as Abo, the capital of Finland. From thence he repaired to Petersburg. One of her Majesty's Chamberlains was dispatched to meet him on the frontiers of Russia. General Bibikoff received him at the last station, before he entered Petersburg, and conducted him to the palace that had been prepared for his reception, in which the Minister Panin waited his arrival. The Prince entered Petersburg under a discharge of cannon, and was every where received with the honours of Majesty.

1770 The next day he presented himself at court with a numerous suite, and dined in public with the Empress. Every thing on that day was conducted with the most rigorous attention to ceremony; but afterwards all etiquette was banished; and the Empress and the Prince saw and

* 'The Prince-royal of Sweden, who reigned afterwards under the name of Gustavus III. and Prince Frederic his brother, passed the first day in the galley with Prince Henry. The Duke of Sudermania was then in France.'

discoursed with each other without the smallest reserve.

Every day was distinguished by some festivity, or enlivened by some novel entertainment.* In

* ‘ Mr. Richardson, then at Petersburg, has given the following description of one of them: “ I saw Prince Henry a few nights ago at a masquerade in the palace, said to be the most magnificent thing of the kind ever seen at the Russian court. Fourteen large rooms and galleries were opened for the accommodation of the masks; and I was informed that there were present several thousand people. A great part of the company wore dominoes, or capuchin dresses; though, besides these, some fanciful appearances afforded a good deal of amusement. A very tall Cossack appeared completely arrayed in the ‘ hauberk’s twisted mail.’ He was, indeed, very grim and martial. Persons in emblematical dresses, representing Apollo and the Seasons, addressed the Empress in speeches suited to their characters. The Empress herself, at the time I saw her Majesty, wore a Grecian habit; though I was afterwards told, that she varied her dress two or three times during the masquerade. Prince Henry of Prussia wore a white domino. Several persons appeared in the dresses of Chinese, Turks, Persians, and Armenians. The most humorous and fantastical figure was a Frenchman, who, with wonderful nimbleness and dexterity, represented an overgrown, but very beautiful parrot. He chattered with a great deal of spirit; and his shoulders, covered with green feathers, performed admirably the part of wings. He drew the attention of the Empress: a ring was formed; he was quite happy; fluttered his plumage; made fine speeches in Russ, French, and tolerable English; the ladies were exceedingly diverted; every body laughed but Prince Henry, who stood beside the Empress, and was so grave and so solemn, that he would have performed his part most admirably in the shape of an owl. The parrot observed him; was determined to have revenge; and, having said as many good things as he could to her Majesty, he was hopping away: but just as he was going out of the circle, seeming to recollect himself, he stopped, looked over his shoulder at the formal Prince, and quite in the parrot tone and French accent, he addressed him most emphatically with ‘ Henri! Henri! Henri!’ and then, diving into the crowd, disappeared. His Royal Highness was disconcerted; he was forced to smile in his own defence, and the company were not a little amused. At midnight a spacious hall of a circular form, capable of containing a vast number of people, and

this place we will only detail the particulars of a festival that was given at Czarsko-zelo; the

illuminated in the most magnificent manner, was suddenly opened. Twelve tables were placed in alcoves around the sides of the room, where the Empress, Prince Henry, and 150 of the chief nobility and foreign ministers, sat down to supper. The rest of the company went up by-stairs on the outside of the room, into the lofty galleries all round the inside. Such a row of masked visages, many of them with grotesque features, and bushy beards, nodding from the side of the wall, appeared very ludicrous to those below. The entertainment was enlivened by a concert of music; and at different intervals persons in various habits entered the hall, and exhibited Cossac, Chinese, Polish, Swedish, and Tartar dances. The whole was so gorgeous, and at the same time so fantastic, that I could not help thinking myself present at some of the magnificent festivals described in the old-fashioned romances :

‘ ——— the marshal’d feast

Serv’d up in hall with sewers and seneshals.’

“The rest of the company, on returning to the rooms adjoining, found prepared for them also a sumptuous banquet. The masquerade began at six in the evening, and continued till five next morning. Besides the masquerade and other festivities, in honour and for the diversion of Prince Henry, we had lately a most magnificent show of fire-works. They were exhibited in a wide space before the winter palace; and in truth, ‘beggared description.’ They displayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and the various conquests and victories achieved since the commencement of the present war. The various colours, the bright green, and the snowy white, exhibited in these fire-works, were truly astonishing. For the space of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and most verdant foliage, seemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire; and during the whole of this stupendous scene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire-balls in one direction, formed as it were a suitable canopy. On this occasion a prodigious multitude of people was assembled; and the Empress, it was surmised, seemed uneasy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, lest any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the dauphin, should befall her beloved people.” *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire*, p. 327.

magnificence of which deserves to be remembered.*

* ' Czarsko-zelo, or the seat of the Czars, the fixed summer-residence of Catharine II. lies in an open, pleasant country, diversified by gentle elevations and spots of forest, at the distance of 24 wersts from Petersburg. The space of the whole grounds belonging to the palace comprises 420,000 square fathoms. This princely seat owes its origin to Catharine I. and its extension and embellishment to the Empress Elizabeth; but for its elegant completion, and the greater part of its present magnificence, it is indebted to the creative reign of Catharine II.

' The columns that mark the wersts on the road from town to Czarsko-zelo, are, like those on the Petershoff road, of marble, jasper, and granite. On the two sides of the way are 1100 globular lamps, which, on public occasions, when the court is at Czarsko-zelo, are lighted. Along the road the traveller is delighted with the view of private gardens and country-houses, though neither in number nor elegance and diversity to be compared with those on the road to Petershoff. Between the sixth and seventh werst-stones are seen the walls of the palace of Tschesme, rising from a swampy plain, overgrown with bushes. This palace, which is in the form of a triangle, is built entirely in the gothic taste, with old gothic ornaments, lofty windows, painted glass, little turrets. The inside is remarkable for a very good collection of portraits of all the Princes of Europe, that were reigning about the year 1775, and their families, the greater part whereof were presents from the several Princes themselves. The grounds about it are laid out in the English style.

' Five or six wersts farther on is a village of German colonists; after which there is no other object of consequence, till, at the extremity of a thick forest, Czarsko-zelo, the grandest of all the imperial palaces, appears. On the left hand is the wall of the park, and opposite two lofty portals, practised through a steep and rugged artificial rock, on the top of the highest whereof is a Chinese temple. On passing through this entrance, on the right hand, is a canal; and beyond it the palace; and on the left a Chinese village, through which the road lies over a Chinese bridge into the park. The road extends to the neighbouring town of Sophia, through a colossal gate of cast iron. The palace itself forms an amphitheatre, with the building opposite to the principal front. On the east side of the garden are two rows of large houses, for the people belonging to the palace, and for the entertainment of travellers.

At the approach of night, the Empress, the Grand Duke, Prince Henry, and several per-

* The outside of the palace is grand from its magnitude, and dazzling by its gilded ornaments. It consists of three stories ; and has a wing on either side ; one of which is the chapel, and the other the Imperial baths. The central part was inhabited by her Majesty. Here a marble staircase leads up to the second story, in which are the state apartments to the side of the court-yard, and the proper dwelling-rooms look to the gardens. The generality of the former are fitted up and furnished in the richest and costliest manner in materials of every kind, and in such elegant magnificence, that travellers, after visiting other countries, unanimously declare, they know nothing of the kind with which it can be compared. A description of these, with the gardens, will certainly not be expected here ; as it would require a peculiar work of several volumes for that purpose. Only this cannot be overlooked, that Catharine, amidst the creations of her capacious mind, had here devoted a little temple of simple architecture to solitary retirement and calm reflection, in which, surrounded by books and the beautiful scenery of nature, she sometimes forgot her immense sphere of action, to indulge in the quiet enjoyments of meditation.

* From the south wing of the palace projects an arcade, fifty fathoms in length, over which is a covered colonnade of marble columns. The gardens are laid out in the English manner, and are unusually spacious. Among the remarkable works in these gardens, that are susceptible of description, are principally the following objects : a small temple, containing the choicest collection of antique and modern statues ; a solitude for a rural repast ; together with a hermitage ; a superb bath, which may vie with any thing that ancient Rome could produce ; picturesque ruins ; a little town, with its streets and squares, &c. in memory of the taking possession of Tavrida, with many others. Two artificial lakes, connected by a rivulet, across which is a marble bridge copied from that in Stowe Gardens. On an island in one of these lakes is a Turkish mosque, on the other a spacious hall for musical entertainments. In a wood appears a pyramid of granite in the Egyptian form, in the neighbourhood of which are two lofty columns.

* Czarsko-zelo, the magnificent sanctuary of nature and art, pretends also to be the grandest temple of merit. Formed of the radical mountains of our earth, monuments of great achievements here tower aloft, fearless of the destructive re-

sons of the court, to the number of sixteen, seated themselves in an immense sledge, drawn by sixteen horses, inclosed and decorated within by double glasses, which reflected numberless images on all sides of the internal and external objects. This sledge, followed by upwards of two thousand others, set out from Petersburg. The whole company were masked, and wore dominos.

At the distance of a mile from Petersburg, the train of sledges passed under an immense triumphal arch, superbly illuminated. Every succeeding mile presented a pyramid of lamps, displayed with the greatest taste. Opposite to each of these was erected a booth, in which the rustics of both sexes tript it along with 'light fantastic toe.' Every booth represented a different nation; easily distinguished by a strict conformity to their various habits, dances, and music.

At about half a mile from the palace of Czar-sko-zelo, the eye was gratified with the sight of a lofty mountain, representing Mount Vesuvius belching forth torrents of flames. This artificial eruption continued during the whole time that the sledges passed in sight of the mountain.

The inside of the palace of Czarsko zelo was

volutions of time. A marble obelisk records the victory near Kagul, and the conqueror Romantsoff-Sadunaiskoi. To the day of Tschesme and the hero Orloff-Tschesmenskoi a marble pillar on a pedestal of granite is dedicated. A superb triumphal arch proclaims the patriotic courage of Prince Orloff, with which he opposed himself to the insurrection and the pestilence that raged in the capital, and overcame them both. A rostral column perpetuates the conquest of the Morza and the name Feodor Orloff. The rest of the gardens are filled with objects that keep the admiration of the beholder on its utmost stretch.

lighted up by an infinite number of wax-lights. For two hours the company danced in the various apartments. All at once a discharge of cannon was heard; the ball ceased; the candles were extinguished; the company ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the sight of fireworks, resplendent with magnificence. This being over, a second discharge of artillery gave the signal to light the candles again, which, as by enchantment, discovered a splendid supper. After rising from table, the dances continued till morning.

Prince Henry passed his evenings in company with the Empress, in the favourite apartment called by her Majesty the hermitage.

We ought not perhaps any longer to delay giving some account of this sumptuous edifice, which, under a modest appellation, contains the most exquisite refinement of luxury. It occupies a whole wing of the Imperial palace.* The

* ' Here is the private library of the Empress; the picture gallery, in which the famous Houghton collection makes but a small figure; Raphael's gallery, built exactly to the dimensions of that of the Vatican, with excellent copies of all the paintings, corner-pieces, and other ornaments, of exactly the same size and in the same situations; a cabinet of medals, and another of coins; a collection of copper-plate engravings; a collection of natural history, particularly mineralogy; a collection of curious pieces of art; a collection of models of mechanical inventions; a cabinet of antique and modern gems; not to mention the extraordinary works of art which compose the furniture of these apartments. Here and there are placed the busts of great men. It is in one of these rooms that the elegant bust of Charles James Fox stands, in the middle of a marble chimney-piece, between two others. Some chambers are destined to musical entertainments, another to billiards, and others to various games. One of these apartments opens into a winter garden, in which are neatly gravelled walks, meandering through verdant trees, bending with fruits and flowers of every kind. This garden is built upon arches, and receives from underneath a

entrance to it is through a long gallery, ornamented with the most elegant paintings.*

The other apartments are two large halls, ornamented with great elegance; and a dining-parlour, in which dinner is served upon confidential tables of different sizes, by a mechanical apparatus. Not a servant enters the room. It is necessary only to strike the floor, and in an instant tables appear, covered with whatever is desirable.†

Prince Henry expressed his desire to see Moscow. Sledges immediately transported him thither with an astonishing rapidity. Three weeks afterwards he returned to Petersburg.

Among the various presents which he received from the Empress was remarked the star of the

gradual and a pleasant heat; so that in the most rigorous seasons, here are gathered the peach and the ananas, the hyacinth and the rose. The whole of this garden is covered with a fine brass wire, that the beautiful and rare birds from all countries that fly among the trees and bushes, or hop about the grass-plots and gravel-walks, and which the Empress used frequently to feed from her hand, may not escape. Here, in the midst of winter, Catharine, with those whom she admitted to her conversation, would walk on lawns and gravel, beneath the branches of verdant trees, and amidst fruits and flowers of every kind. Above this is a terrace, where is a second garden, in the Asiatic taste; but this can only be enjoyed during the summer season. A covered gallery leads from this enchanted palace into the court theatre, at the performances of which, likewise, only a select company ever appeared.

* 'A great part of the paintings in the hermitage are from the famous cabinet of Crozat, which the Empress purchased at Paris.'

† 'The company take their seats; and each of them, on wishing to change his plate, has only to strike it in the centre, and it falls through the table, and through the floor, starting up again, and settling in its place, having upon it whatever was written on the scrap of paper that descended with it. At a certain signal all the plates and dishes descend, and others with the second course presently appear.'

order of St. Andrew, covered with large brilliants, together with a single diamond valued at 40.000 rubles. The portrait of Catharine was inclosed in this ring.*

But neither festivities nor pleasures hindered Prince Henry from accomplishing the secret object of his mission. In the private conversations which he had with the Empress, the dismemberment of Poland was resolved on. Catharine and Frederic were equally desirous of undertaking the work ; but this they could not effect without a third ally. Had Maria Theresa been still sole mistress of the Empire, they would not perhaps have succeeded in making her a partaker of so unjust a spoliation. Such fastidious notions did not possess Joseph II. Turkey, France, England, might also have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees ; but these powers were so easily deceived, or so indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catharine said to Prince Henry, “ I will frighten Turkey ; I will flatter England ; do you undertake to bribe Austria, that she may lull France into apathy.”

Prince Henry was so well acquainted with the dispositions of Joseph II. and of his Minister Kaunitz, that he acted as if he were already in concert with them. With Catharine he fixed the conditions upon which the dismemberment of Poland was to be made, and limited the extent of territory that each of the powers in this co-partnership should appropriate to itself. However, the treaty between them was not signed until two years afterwards.†

* ‘ The Empress, moreover, presented him with a collection of medals in gold, and a variety of rich furs. She also made rich presents to all the persons in his suite.’

† ‘ It was signed at Petersburg in the month of Feb. 1772.’

The war continued to rage with fury on the frontiers of Turkey. Prince Gallitzin, humbled by his defeat, made a fresh attempt against Khoczim. This was not more successful than the former. Sixty thousand Turks marched to the defence of that place ; they defended it with vigour, and pursued the Russians to the frontiers of Poland : but, suffering a defeat in their turn, retreated to Moldavia.

At the beginning of this campaign the Turks fought with uncommon valour and great obstinacy ; but the ignorance of their Generals, and the disorder that reigned in their armies, often cost them a victory. After a contest of ten months, their army, almost totally destroyed, took refuge in the fortress of Khoczim, which, at first so valiantly defended, was now given up without resistance into the hands of two hundred Russian grenadiers.

The Empress, upon hearing that the Turks, in pursuit of Prince Gallitzin, had entered the Polish territory, pretended that Poland ought not to suffer with impunity this infraction of the treaty of Carlowitz. Stanislaus Augustus and the senate of Warsaw, ever suppliant to the wishes of Catharine, declared war against the Porte. This procedure added nothing, however, to the forces of Russia. What exertions could that country make, which was destitute of an army, deprived of wealth, and delivered up a prey to all the horrors of intestine anarchy ?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her exalted genius. While her armies harassed the Turks on the banks of the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dniester, and her fleets rode triumphant on the Black Sea, she re-

solved to attack them in the very isles of Greece.*

Accordingly,† a fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line, six frigates, several transports, a number of bomb-ketches, gallies, and vessels with troops for land service, left the inner roads of the Baltic, cleared the North Sea, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after having been dispersed by a tempest, again collected, and hoisted in the Archipelago its victorious banner. Admiral Spiridoff commanded this squadron: but the

* ‘ For the improvement of her sea-officers, she had before engaged Englishmen in her service, the number of whom was now doubled. Others she sent to Malta, to make themselves acquainted with the art of managing the gallies. In order to accustom the lower classes of the marine, from the Captain to the cabin-boy, to seas as yet unknown to them, she ordered a new-built frigate, the *Nadejeda Blogopolutshik* (the *Successful Hope*) to be got ready for sea, and invited some merchants of Petersburg to make ventures in it for a direct commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean. The Empress undertook to provide the crew, and in all other respects to be an equal partner in the trade with the rest. This being settled, the command was given to Captain Plesscheieff. This was the first ship which bore the Russian flag in the Mediterranean: it was out on the voyage two years, and in that time visited almost all the ports of that sea. Able and experienced officers, especially from the British navy, readily entered into the Imperial service; Elphinston, Greig, Tate, Dugdale, and many others, not to mention Sir Charles Knowles, who acted more as superintendant and director of the dock-yards than in a strictly naval capacity: even the pilots on board the fleet, besides native Russians, consisted of Englishmen, Danes, and Dutch. The Empress concluded a particular treaty with Denmark, by which that kingdom was to keep in constant readiness 800 seamen for the service of Russia. And lastly, she requested of the maritime powers a friendly reception and assistance to her ships of war. England and Tuscany fully complied with this request; Malta consented that three Russian men of war, but no more at one time, should enter the port of la Valetta; France, Spain, Venice, and Naples, would admit only merchant-ships from that country in their ports.’

† September, 1769.

Admiral himself was under the orders of Alexis Orloff, whose criminal share in the revolution had, all at once, raised him from the rank of a common soldier to the exalted situation of a General; and whose audacity served him instead of experience, and made up for his deficiency of understanding.

Long previous to the sailing of this fleet for the Archipelago, the Empress had prepared the way by keeping a good understanding with the principal isles of Greece. By her emissaries she was flattered with the hopes of exciting a general revolt in those countries. Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfou, and attached to the Greek religion, had come to St. Petersburg, where he was invested with the order of St. Anne, and the title of Minister from Russia to Venice. From a principle of gratitude he engaged to advance the sums that were necessary for the expedition of Alexis Orloff, and he actually furnished a loan of 35,000,000 of livres tournois.*

On the event of the war against the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the political balance which Russia should henceforth maintain in Europe. Of this Catharine was by no means ignorant. She accordingly exerted every sinew of her strength, and called forth all the resources

* The Empress raised, besides, several considerable loans at Leghorn, at Genoa, at Lucca, and at Amsterdam. The Dutch merchants at first shewed reluctance at lending their money. Piqued with resentment that Mr. William Gomm, banker of the court of Petersburg, should dispense with their assistance, and endeavour to establish a course of direct exchange between Russia and England, they caused his bills of exchange, to the amount of 300,000 florins, to be protested in one day, and obliged him to stop payment. But they were offered an especial mortgage on the custom-houses of Petersburg and Riga. Allured by this bait, they lent all that was desired.

of her mind, in order to secure triumph in that war.

New squadrons were built; her Majesty's camps were replenished by numerous bodies of recruits. Dissatisfied with Prince Gallitzin's conduct, she recalled him home, and gave the command of her army to Count Romanzoff, who was succeeded in the Ukraine by General Panin.* Prince Dolgorouky had the command of a third army.

Neither were the Turks backward in reinforcing their armies, and placing them under the command of Generals whom they thought the most qualified to lead them on to battle. The Grand Vizir took upon himself the general command. They also received powerful reinforcements from the Crimea. The famous Krim-Gueray had lately died, and was succeeded by his nephew. The new Khan was weak, but of a pacific disposition. He was deposed by the Turks, and Kaplan Gueray, a warlike Prince, who presently put himself at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tartars, elected in his room.

The Russians opened the campaign by the siege of Bender, become celebrated for the retreat and long residence of Charles XII. But, harassed by the Tartars, they were obliged for some time to relinquish the hope of capturing that fortress. More successful on another side, they took possession of Yassi and of Brailow.

These advantages were of trifling importance. Two signal battles decided the fate of the campaign, and secured to Romanzoff the palm of victory. The first was fought on the banks of the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of 80,000 men, were commanded by the Khan of the Kri-

* The Minister's brother.

mea, who had dexterously intrenched himself on a hill, out of the reach of attack Romanzoff pitched his camp on the opposite side, and during the space of a whole month offered them battle in vain. At length losing all patience, a movement of Romanzoff gave them reason to suspect that he was about making a retreat, and a detachment of 20,000 men having gone down to pursue him, were repulsed with loss, and driven back to their very camp, into which they carried terror and confusion.

Animated by this success, the Russians lost no time in scaling the hill; and after a vigorous resistance, their enemies abandoned to them their intrenchments and a considerable part of their baggage and artillery.

They retired then towards the Danube, where they anxiously expected to be reinforced by detachments from the grand Ottoman army. Indeed the Grand Vizir, who commanded it, did pass the river, and came to succour the vanquished.

Romanzoff, who, thinking he was in pursuit of a routed army, had advanced towards the mouth of the Pruth,* found himself all at once in front of 150,000 Turks. His situation was the more dangerous, because he had been obliged to detach a part of his army to afford protection to a convoy which he hourly expected. The Khan, indulging hopes of revenge, extended his forces to the left of the Russian army, and surrounded it in such a manner as to cut off the possibility of retreat.

Though the Russian forces were far inferior to those of the Turks, the latter took the same precautions as if they had had to contend with

* The Pruth flows into the Danube.

an enemy amounting to an equal number with themselves. At night, they surrounded their camp with a triple intrenchment. On the following day the Grand Vizir gave the signal of battle; and the Russians were at once attacked on all sides. The firing was kept up for five hours, without any decided advantage being gained by either party. But General Romanzoff, judging that the cannon and musquetry would totally destroy his army, gave orders to charge the enemy with bayonets fixed. The Turks gave way, and retreated within their intrenchments, where they defended themselves for some time with the greatest valour; but numbers were obliged to yield to discipline and military skill. The defeat of the Ottomans was complete.* They retreated, carrying off the Vizir in their flight, and leaving almost a third of their army slaughtered on the field of battle. The greater part of the baggage, the stores of this army, 143 pieces of brass cannon, and 7000 provision waggons, fell into the possession of the Russians, and supplied them with ample means of extending their conquests.

Soon after this Romanzoff passed the Dniester. Prince Repnin took possession of Ismailoff. Pannin had laid siege to Bender. That place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garrison, but having lost all hopes of being relieved, surrendered,† after a siege of nearly three months.‡

General Igelstrohm carried the fortress of Ackerman,§ the capital of Bessarabia, by assault,

* In the month of July,

† At the beginning of September.

‡ 'The capture of this fortress brought with it the submission of the Tartars of Budziak and Otchakoff to the Russian sceptre.'

§ Towards the end of September.

which is situated on the Euxine, at the mouth of the Dniester.*

The news of such great and repeated successes augmented the pride and the security of Catharine. The disaffected, who encircled her throne, no longer dared to conspire against a Princess, who, at such a distance, triumphed over her most formidable enemies. The provinces of Walachia and Moldavia, submitting to the Russian arms, sent deputies to Petersburg to render homage to the Empress. She received them with magnificence, and loaded them with presents.

At the same time several foreign officers, who had come to offer their services to Catharine, obtained employment in her armies; among whom were 'General Lloyd,† Major Thomas Carlton,‡ and other Englishmen of tried courage and conduct; together with some naval officers from England and Denmark, and Captain Kinsbergen from Holland.' These, distinguished by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the Russian navy.

A little after her accession to the throne, Catharine had, in her conversations with Marshal Munich, suggested the idea of getting possession of Constantinople, and of expelling the Turks out of Europe. This old soldier had even offered to conduct the enterprize. But too many obstacles at that time opposed the execution of so vast a design. The propitious moment seemed at last arrived. However, not supposing it possible to keep all the Grecian isles under her dominion, Catharine determined at least to pluck them from the hands of the Turks; and the most

* Ackerman signifies White-town.

† Author of 'Reveries,' a work on 'the possibility of invading England,' &c.

‡ Now Governor of New Brunswick in America.

despotic of Sovereigns resolved to patronize liberty in these fine countries, and to form them into a republic.*

We have already observed, that secret agents had disposed the Greeks to insurrection. That people, anciently so proud, but now so debased, in principle, expected the Russians as their deliverers; and at the instant their squadron had reached the height of Cape Matapan,† the whole Archipelago thought itself free. The Mainots, descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, were the first that took arms. These were soon imitated by their neighbours; and the Turks were massacred in several of the islands. But the latter cruelly revenged themselves for the revolt of the Greeks. Thousands of these miserable people were exterminated by the sabre of the janissaries.

The squadron of Admiral Spiridoff was soon joined by that of Elphinston, an Englishman, Vice-admiral in the service of Russia, and far more capable of commanding than the officer under whom he served.

To this double squadron was opposed that of the Capudan-pacha,‡ a man of extraordinary intrepidity, and whose exertions, on several occasions, only wanted better support to secure him the palm of victory.

He first obliged the Russians to retire from Lemnos. Afterwards the two fleets met § in the channel that separates the isle of Scio from Naxos. The Ottoman fleet was superior in point of number, and in a manner intrenched behind

* Liberty and republicanism always went together. Look at Athens, at Rome, at France, at Holland.

† Formerly the promontory of Taneros.

‡ The famous Hassan.

§ The 5th of July.

some small islands and rocks, level with the water's surface. The Russians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The Capudan-pacha, on board the Sultan, of 90 guns, led the van, and offered battle to Admiral Spiridoff. The ships came alongside of each other. The efforts of courage were terrible on both sides. Showers of balls and grenades increased, with rapidity, on the decks of the two Admirals. The ship of the Capudan-pacha caught fire; that of the Russian commander could not disengage itself from her. They blew up together, and covered the sea with their smoaky fragments. The Admirals and some other officers alone effected their escape from this disaster.

While the conflagration continued, the other ships, struck with terror, ceased from fighting; but soon after approached each other, and renewed the attack with double fury. Night intervened, and obliged them to separate. The Turks had now the imprudence to enter the narrow and muddy bay of Tschesmé, where some of their vessels ran aground, and the others were so straightened for room, that they found it impossible to act. The Russians, who had observed their mistake, promised themselves great advantage from it.

The day following,* Vice-admiral Elphinston stationed himself at the entrance of the bay, to prevent the Turks from coming out. He then ordered four fire-ships to be got ready, commanded by Lieutenant Dugdale, and protected by the vessels of another Englishman, Vice-admiral Greig. Towards midnight Greig commenced the attack with four ships of the line and two frigates. Presently after, Dugdale came up

* The 6th of July.

with his bombs; and braving the enemy's fire, and encouraging by his personal valour the Russians, by whom he was seconded, he himself grappled a fire-ship to one of the Turkish vessels; and, with his hands, his face, and his hair, all burnt, threw himself into the sea, and swam to the Russian squadron. The Turkish ships were so crowded together, that they all became a prey to the flames.* The sun, when he arose in the morning, saw no more of their flags.

So far from endeavouring to check the progress of the flames, the Turkish crews were wholly taken up in providing their own safety. Several sailors fled off in boats, others committed themselves to the sea, and took to swimming; and all who gained the shore separated about the countries, and were guilty of such depredations and excesses upon the wretched inhabitants, that even the Russians themselves could not perhaps have surpassed their brutality. It was found necessary to send a party of troops to stop the ravages of these plunderers. After the total destruction of the Turkish squadron, the Russians anchored at Paros; whence they could easily command all the Grecian seas, and where not a single vessel appeared without paying deference to the Russian flag.

The Turks felt a greater uneasiness from the vicinity of such an enemy, because a rebellion had broke out in several parts of their empire. The Pachas of Caramania, almost always at variance with the Porte, took advantage of its disasters to withdraw themselves entirely from its

* 'It is certain that this famous conflagration was the work of three Englishmen,—Elphinston, Greig, and Dugdale. The Empress, however, ascribed the idea of it to Alexis Orloff. She wrote so to Voltaire; she repeated it again in 1788 to the French Ambassador.'

authority. That part of Syria which lies below Sidon and Tripoli followed their example, and the old Scheik Daher excited rebellion in all the country which reaches from Acre to the plains of Esdraelon, the frontiers of Egypt.

But among those who signalized themselves by their rebellion against the Grand Signor, Ali-Bey undoubtedly shewed himself the most formidable, and possessed the greatest ability of serving Russia. Raised from the rank of a common mammeluk to the exalted situation of Bey, he became distinguished for his courage, and had already experienced, though still in his youth, the mutable favours and the disappointments of fickle fortune. The rivals of his power successfully removed him from Cairo ; but he soon returned thither again as a conqueror, and banished them in his turn. He knew that the Porte had been hostile to his interest, and, animated with the feelings of implacable resentment, he desired nothing more anxiously than to contribute to the ruin of the Ottoman empire. The arrival of the Russian squadrons seemed to offer him a favourable opportunity for gratifying his vengeance.

Perhaps there never was an enterprize in a distant country more fortunate in its issue than that of the Russians on the coasts of Asia Minor. But perhaps there never were Generals more ignorant, more incapable of appreciating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of vain ostentation, and more addicted to debauchery, than Alexis Orloff and his principal officers. Had they known how to profit by their victories, and turn the superiority of their forces to the best advantage, Syria and Egypt would for ever have been lost to the Ottoman empire.

Ali-Bey eagerly invited them to support the rebellion, by sending troops to his assistance, in order to drive the Turks out of Egypt. But instead of seconding his views, Alexis Orloff trifled away the time in forcing upon Ali-Bey an acknowledgment of the Empress for his Sovereign.

A young Venetian merchant, named Carlo Rosetti, had possessed himself of the Bey's confidence, and was the first whom he employed to treat with the Russians. No one was more disposed, nor more fit to secure the success of such a negociation. But Orloff's ignorance precluded him from taking advantage of this favourable opportunity. Neglectful of the salutary advice which this artful Italian might have given him, and disgusting him by his arrogant spirit, he had recourse to Greeks and Jews, by whom he was cheated and deceived. He was suspicious of Ali-Bey, whom he forced, by his artifices, to be mistrustful of him.

It was only a short time previous to his quitting the Archipelago, that Alexis Orloff sent Plesscheieff * into Egypt. Plesscheieff was favourably received by the Bey. He flattered himself with being able to render his mission greatly advantageous to the Russians : but it was too late. Peace intervened, and made his negotiations nugatory.

A courier, dispatched directly to the Empress, brought her the important news of the burning of the Turkish fleet ; so that she was the first person at Petersburg informed of the event.

* Plesscheieff afterwards obtained the rank of Vice-admiral. He has written an account of his voyage to Egypt ; but he does not mention in it a word of the money that he gave to the Copht Risk, to procure for him the favour of Ali-Bey. See Varieties of Literature, vol. i. p. 477.

Count Iwan Czernischeff, whom the Empress had long since recalled from London, and placed at the head of the marine department, was then involved in a quarrel with the college of admiralty, and that quarrel had retarded the expedition of an affair of trifling consequence. Catharine complained of this delay, but thought no more of it. She was not unacquainted with the obstinate disposition and extreme incapacity of Czernischeff; she however continued him in his appointment; because she had formed a settled principle of changing her Ministers and her Ambassadors as seldom as possible. When she sent for Czernischeff to communicate to him the news of the conflagration of Tschesmé, the Minister, supposing that her Majesty referred still to his quarrel, cried out, as he entered the apartment, 'I assure you, madam, that it is not my fault.'—'Oh! I know that very well,' returned the Empress, 'but it is not the less certain on that account.'—'Alas! true, madam, and I am very sorry for it.'—'What! are you sorry that the Turks have no longer a fleet?' said the Empress, with a smile; and immediately communicated to him the contents of those dispatches which she had just received.

The joy at the court of Petersburg was extreme. Magnificent entertainments were given to celebrate the triumph of Tschesmé, and the Empress has since built a palace, and laid the foundation of a town; by which she has consecrated to posterity the remembrance of so glorious an event.

Alexis Orloff eagerly returned to Petersburg,* ¹⁷⁷¹ to wear the laurels of his triumphs, and to solicit new means for extending his conquests in

* He arrived on the 15th of March.

the Archipelago. With his appearance the festive joys were renewed, and the Count was decorated by his Sovereign's hands with the grand riband of St. George.

He submitted to the council a plan whereby he proposed to make himself master of all Greece, and rescue Egypt from the Ottoman empire. He concluded by offering to pass the dangerous passage of the Dardanelles; and in order to complete his design requested no more than 10,000,000 of roubles.—‘I grant you twenty,’ immediately replied Catharine; ‘for I am resolved that you shall want for nothing.’ At the same time orders were issued for a new squadron to be equipped, as a reinforcement to that which was already in the Archipelago.*

* ‘During the state of extreme loss and misfortune to which the Turks were reduced by the war, that empire seemed convulsed in all its parts; order, submission, and respect to government seemed totally at an end; massacre and confusion took place; and, to fill up the measure of calamity, the plague now made the most cruel ravages, above a thousand persons dying daily in Constantinople for several weeks. The destruction of their fleet was better known in that metropolis, and was in itself more immediately alarming, than any other misfortune that could have happened: and, as if the dangers from without were not sufficiently terrible, the run-away sailors filled it with slaughter and confusion, and actually set fire to the city and suburbs at several times. At length these miscreants were so strengthened, by the accession of vagabonds and villains of all sorts, particularly by the crowds of deserters from the Danube, who had nothing to subsist upon but plunder, that they came to an open engagement with the janissaries in the suburbs of Pera; where some thousands of them were cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed.

‘In the mean time, every immediate measure was taken for the security of the Dardanelles, and all the remaining ships and gallies were fitted out with the greatest expedition to assist in defending the passage. The late Vizir, Moldavangi Ali-pacha, was recalled from his exile, and sent at the head of fifteen thousand men for the same purpose; where

Proud of her Imperial Majesty's favour, of victories of which he ascribed to himself the exclusive honour, and of such as he still intended to gain, Count Alexis Orloff departed from St. Petersburg, to return to the Archipelago. In his way he stopped some time at Vienna, where he displayed an extravagant luxury, and gave himself up to indiscretions very little worthy of the Minister of a Princess so cautious as Catharine. One evening, at supper with the Russian Ambassador in a numerous company, he spoke of the revolution that had cost Peter III. his throne. No one dared to question him concerning the death of the unfortunate Czar. Alexis Orloff voluntarily related the sad catastrophe; and, perceiving that all who heard him shuddered with horror, he thought to justify the crime which he had committed, by saying, 'It was a shocking reflection, that a man possessed of his humanity should be forced to do what he had been commanded to execute.' But this repentance could not be deemed sincere. The character of Alexis Orloff was too well known;

the first enemies he had to encounter were the rebellious sailors, who landed in a body, in spite of the Capudan-pacha; and, making zeal for their religion a cloak for their avarice and licentiousness, intended to have plundered and burnt the city of Gallipoli, and to have massacred the Greeks. They were, however, happily disappointed in this cruel design, by the vigour and resolution of the late Vizir, who severely chastised their profligacy; and, after killing a great number of them, reduced the remainder to order. Baron Tot, a French nobleman who had been Consul in Tartary, and was an engineer of the first abilities, together with several others of his countrymen, were also procured, to erect new batteries on the straights, and to put the castles into a proper state of defence. By these means, together with the uncertainty of the winds and currents necessary to facilitate such an enterprise, all the attempts of the Russians to force their passage had hitherto proved fruitless.

and his conduct proves that the crime he had basely committed did not alarm his conscience.

On leaving Vienna, Alexis Orloff rejoined the Russian squadron which waited his arrival at Leghorn; and, though in a shattered plight, continued to ruin the Turkish marine and the commerce of the Ottoman Porte.

The Empress had commissioned Alexis Orloff to have four pictures painted in Italy, representing the engagements of her squadron and the combustion of the Turkish fleet. Orloff for this purpose made application to a painter of the name of Hackert. This artist told him that he had never seen a ship blow up. The Russian hesitated not to afford him an opportunity of contemplating such a sight; and hazarded firing all the vessels in the road of Leghorn, that he might furnish the painter with means of exhibiting with greater truth and accuracy the disaster of the Capudan-pacha and Admiral Spiridoff.*

Acts of extravagance do not always involve criminality. But there is no crime of which the extravagant Alexis Orloff was not capable. When he departed from Petersburg, Orloff received a command from Catharine to send her a young unfortunate female, who had been rescued from tyranny. Orloff was too well acquainted with villainous perpetrations not to execute this barbarous order.

We have already mentioned that the Empress Elizabeth had three children by her clandestine marriage with the Grand-huntsman, Alexis Gregoriewitch Razumoffsky. The youngest of these was a girl, brought up under the name of

* The four pictures by Hackert are at present in the hall of audience at Petershoff.

Princess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radziwill, informed of this secret, and irritated that Catharine should trample under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furnish him with ample means of revenge. He thought that he should not oppose in vain to the Sovereign, whose arms spread desolation over his unhappy country, a rival whom her mother's name would endear to the Russians. Perhaps his ambition might have suggested to him hopes of higher expectancy. He might have flattered himself with being one day enabled to share the throne to which he intended to raise the young Tarrakanoff. However this may be, he gained over the persons intrusted with the education of this Princess, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome.*

Catharine, having received intelligence of this elopement, took immediate steps to frustrate Prince Radziwill's designs. The circumstance of his heading the confederacy among the malcontents she turned to her own advantage; caused all his estates to be seized, and reduced his Highness to the necessity of living on the produce of the diamonds and other valuable effects which he had carried away with him to Italy. These resources were soon exhausted. Radziwill set out in order to pick up fresh supplies in Poland, leaving the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the sole care of a *gouvernante*, and in circumstances extremely limited. He had scarcely entered his own country, when a restitution of his estates was offered him, on condition that he would bring his young ward into Russia. He refused submission to such an

* ' In 1767, Mademoiselle de Tarrakanoff was then about twelve years of age.'

indignant proposal ; but had the weakness to promise that he would concern himself no further about the daughter of Elizabeth. At this price he purchased his pardon.

Alexis Orloff, charged with the execution of her Majesty's pleasure, seized the first moment, on his arrival at Leghorn, to lay a snare for the Princess Tarrakanoff. One* of those intriguers, so common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome ; and, having discovered the lodgings of the young Russian Princess, introduced himself to her presence under the name and character of a military officer. He told the Princess that he had been led to wait upon her by the sole inducement of paying homage to one whose fate so highly interested all her countrymen.— He seemed much affected at the destitute condition in which he found her. He offered her some assistance, which necessity obliged her to accept ; and the perfidious traitor soon appeared to this unfortunate female, as well as to the woman that attended her person, in the light of a saviour benignly sent from Heaven.

When he thought himself sufficiently possessed of their confidence, he declared that he was commissioned by Count Alexis Orloff to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that her mother had filled. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catharine ; that Orloff, in particular, could not pardon her ingratitude and tyranny ; and that if the young Princess was willing to accept the services of that General, and reward his zeal by the acceptance of his hand, she would soon witness the commencement of a revolution which he had prepared.

* This was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Russia ; and has since been made a Knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of Vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

Proposals in themselves so brilliant ought to have opened the eyes of Princess Tarrakanoff to the perfidy of their author. But her inexperience and candour checked a suspicion of the criminal's infidelity. Besides, the language of Orloff's emissary seemed analogous to the ideas which she had received from Prince Radziwill. She imagined herself destined for the throne; and every chimerical dream that bore a relation to that presupposed opinion, flattered her fond but delusive hopes. She accordingly indulged the most deceitful expectation; and, with the grateful emotions of a sensible mind, acknowledged the proffered but feigned services of him who spoke but to destroy her.

Some time after this, Alexis Orloff came to Rome. His emissary had announced his arrival. He was received as a welcome benefactor. However the Princess and her *gouvernante* were cautioned, by some persons to whom they communicated the happiness that awaited them, to beware of the designs of a man whose abandoned wickedness had been long notorious, and who, without doubt, from motives of interest peculiarly binding, would retain his fidelity to the Empress, and beware of conspiring against her safety. So far from profiting by these salutary counsels, the Princess, with imprudent candour, spoke of them to Alexis Orloff, who justified his intentions with apparent ease, and assumed in his conduct greater dissimulation and more cautious subtlety. Not content with flattering the ambition of the young Russian Princess, he feigned an affection for her, and inspired the artless female with a real passion for him. So soon as he was assured of this, he entreated her to unite with him in the most sacred bonds of conjugal felicity. To this request she

unfortunately gave her consent ; and it was with feelings of joy that she promised to contract a marriage, which, in the event, was to consummate her ruin. She supposed that the title of wife to Alexis Orloff would afford her invincible protection from the perfidious treacheries with which her apprehensions were kept awake. She could not, for a moment, suppose that any man would make religion and titles of the most sacred nature subservient to the destruction of an innocent victim. But was religion, was there a title accounted sacred by the barbarous wretch who deceived her credulity ? Could that man who strangled the unfortunate Peter III.—could he hesitate to dishonour the daughter of Elizabeth ? *

Under pretence of solemnizing the marriage according to the ritual of the Greek church, he ordered subaltern accomplices in villainy to disguise themselves in the habits of priests and lawyers. Thus was profanation united to imposture, and both directed against the unprotected, the too confident Tarrakanoff.

When Alexis Orloff was become the fictitious husband, but the real ravisher of this unhappy Princess, he represented to her, that by staying at Rome she would be too much exposed to observation ; and that it appeared more advisable for her to await, in some other Italian city, the moment that gave action to a conspiracy, whereby she was to be called to the throne. Believing this counsel to proceed from the suggestions of love and prudence, she replied, that wherever he would conduct her steps she was

* We may compare the fate of Princess Tarrakanoff with that of the daughter of Sejanus : ‘ — A carnifice laqueum juxta, compressam.’ Tacit. Ann. lib. v.

ready to go. He brought her to Pisa immediately, where he had, some time before, hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tenderness and respect. But he suffered no one to approach her person except the minions whom he had purchased; and when she appeared at the theatre, or in any public walk, he always accompanied her himself.

The division of the Russian squadron, under command of Vice admiral Greig, had just entered the port of Leghorn. Upon hearing the news of his arrival, Orloff related it to the Princess; and, as he said it was necessary that he should repair thither to give some orders, offered to take her with him. She acceded so much the more chearfully to the invitation, on account of the boasted beauty of the port of Leghorn, and the magnificence of the Russian navy. Imprudent, hapless female! the nearer she approached the fatal period assigned by Orloff for the execution of his horrible project, the more was her heart alive to the apparent tenderness and sincerity of the abandoned traitor.

She set out from Pisa with her usual attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, she alighted at the English Consul's, who had made ready an apartment for her in his own house, and by whom she was received with marks of the most profound respect. The Vice-admiral's lady and the Consul's wife hastened to wait upon her, and never quitted her person. She saw herself presently surrounded by a numerous court, who anticipated her least desires, and seemed anxious only to divert her attention by a routine of amusements. Whenever she appeared abroad the people thronged in her way. At the theatre all eyes were fixed upon her box. Every thing

conspired to suppress any emotions of fear; every idea of imminent danger was removed at a distance. Fatal security!

It is certainly impossible to believe for a moment, that a Consul, an English Admiral, and their ladies, could be so degenerate in principle, so inhuman in disposition, as to ensnare, by officious respect and perfidious caresses, an unhappy victim, whose youth, whose beauty, whose innocence, must have probed the sensibility of the most obdurate heart! A suspicion that they were even concerned in the plot formed against Tarrakanoff, and that they endeavoured to inspire her with confidence, but to betray her with greater safety, is a thought that never, no, never could be harboured in the bosom of an English female.*

The youthful Tarrakanoff was so far from entertaining a suspicion of her danger, that after having spent several days in the midst of amusements and in the round of dissipation, she herself asked to visit the Russian squadron. The idea was applauded. Orders were immediately given, and on the morrow, upon rising from table, every thing was ready at the water-side for the Princess's reception. She repaired to the beach, and was handed into a barge covered with magnificent awnings. The Consul, his lady, and Admiral Greig's, were seated by the side of the Princess. A second barge carried the Vice admiral and Alexis Orloff. A third, filled with Russian and English officers, closed the procession. The barges quitted the shore, in sight of an immense concourse of people, and

* I have given this paragraph a translation widely at variance with the French copy; but by so doing I have spared imputations that cannot be just.

were received by the fleet with instruments of music, salutes of cannon, and repeated huzzas.

When the Princess came along side of that ship of which she was going on board, a splendid arm-chair was let down on the side, in which she was seated, and gently hoisted upon the deck ; at the same time she was given to understand that these were particular honours paid to her rank.

But she was scarcely entered the ship before her hands were loaded with chains. In vain did this helpless, this unsuspecting, this innocent female implore pity from the callous-hearted Orloff, whom she still called by the tender appellation of husband ; in vain did she cast herself at his feet, and bedew them with a flood of tears. The barbarian did not even deign to make her one reply. She was carried down the hold ; and next day sailed in the ship for Russia.

On arriving at Petersburg, the young victim was shut up in a fortress, and treated most barbarously. Six years afterwards, the waters of the Newa * terminated her misfortunes : she was drowned in prison.†

However, the inhabitants of Leghorn, who had seen the Princess embark, soon learnt with horror, that, instead of an entertainment which she had reason to expect on board the squadron, she found there nothing but fetters. The Grand

* In the month of December, 1777, a violent south-west wind caused a reflux of the Baltic into the Newa ; the waters rising ten feet above their level, wrecked many of the vessels.

† The author of the interesting '*Memoires Secrets sur l'Italie*,' who printed some time ago details of these particulars, says, that the young Tarrakanoff expired under the hands of Catharine's satellites. But a person, well acquainted with what passed at Petersburg for several years, confidently affirms that the real fact is as now related.

Duke of Tuscany, whose territory had been so dishonourably violated, immediately wrote to Vienna and Petersburg to complain of this outrage. But Alexis Orloff insolently braved the complaints of Leopold and the public indignation.

An adventure that happened one evening to this ferocious man, during his stay at Rome, equally serves to display his brutal disposition. One evening, at supper in a house * where a numerous society had assembled together, he wished to make a display of his extraordinary strength. He broke with great ease in his hand several pieces of crystal and iron. He then put an apple between two of his fingers, and divided it in several parts. A royal Duke,† brother of an illustrious King,‡ was at table; one of the pieces struck the Prince on the face, and hurt him. Every person present felt extreme anxiety at the accident. Alexis Orloff alone remained perfectly careless, and deigned not even to make the least apology to the Duke.

Although repeatedly vanquished, the Ottoman armies were easily recruited, and opposed the efforts of the Russians;—Hydra like, terrible in aspect, whose heads multiplied under the blows of Romanzoff and his lieutenants; The Russian General Weisseman passed the Danube, and beat the Turks near Isaccia. The Grand Vizir forced him to repass the river, and advanced towards Bukarest with an army of an hundred thousand men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But the enjoyment of this success was of no long duration. In three

* At the house of the Marchioness Gentili Bocca Padula;

† His Royal Highness the Duke of Glo—s—r.

‡ The K—g of Engl—d.

successive battles the Russians regained the advantage.

The Grand Vizir retreated into the mountains of Bulgaria; and Romanzoff, abandoning the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter-quarters in Moldavia and Walachia.

The Khan of the Krimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine resolved on vengeance; and determined to deprive her enemy of this assistance. She had, for some time past, kept up a secret correspondence in the Krimea. Her emissaries employed all their art privately to sow the seeds of division among the Tartars, and to deprive the Khan of the confidence of his subjects. They succeeded in their attempts; and valour accomplished what intrigue had begun.

The famous lines of Perekop had submitted forty years before to the intrepidity of Munich. Instructed by this example, the Khans of the Krimea rendered this passage more difficult. However, neither a ditch seventy-two feet wide, and forty-two in depth, nor an army of fifty thousand Tartars, by whom it was defended, could stop Prince Dolgorousky in his career. By forcing this important barrier, the General became master of the whole Krimea; and, as a reward for his victory, he received from the Empress the surname of *Krimsky*.*

The Khan, obliged to abandon his country, rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror,

* This is a common and an ancient custom in Russia. The Prince Dolgorousky received the name of *Krimsky*; the Marshal Romanzoff that of *Sudanowsky*; Alexis Orloff that of *Tschesmensky*; the Marshal Souwaroff that of *Rimnitsky*; as the famous Duke Alexander had formerly that of *Neswsky*, because he triumphed over the Swedes on the banks of the Newa.

took refuge in the Turkish provinces. Prince Dolgorousky caused a new Khan to be immediately elected ; but he was not such a one as the Russians wanted, and soon detached himself from their party.

The Grand Signor, irritated to indignation that Abaza Pacha, and some other Turkish commanders, had cowardly abandoned the Krimea, sent them the fatal cord, and ordered their bleeding heads to be exposed on the gates of the Seraglio.

The desertion of the Krimea by the Turkish commanders was not the only perfidious action of which the Porte had then to complain. A secret treaty had been concluded * with the court of Vienna, by which they engaged to take up arms offensively in its behalf, on condition of being indemnified for all the expences incurred by the war ; and a restitution, when peace was established, of Walachia, and some other Austrian territories subdued by conquest. Faithful to these promises, the Porte began by paying to the court of Vienna five millions of Imperial † florins. That court made use of the sum immediately ; but to the disgrace of the Christian name, it was to make preparations for turning her arms against the Porte itself, and to reunite her strength with Russia.

For some time past a terrible scourge had desolated the internal provinces of the Russian empire. The plague had broken out at Moscow ; and the ignorance of the physicians, added to

* The 6th of July.

† This sum makes twelve millions and a half tournois, or 1,093,750*l.* sterling. Some persons pretend that the Porte reckoned but six thousand purses, or 785,500*l.* sterling. But was the procedure of the court of Vienna less odious on that account ? By no means.

the superstition of the people, caused a frightful ravage. The physicians at first believed this malady to be nothing more than an epidemical fever ; and the people, seeing the incapacity of the physicians to administer relief, pursued them on all sides, and forced them to take shelter from their fury in concealment. It was pretended by some that an image, placed in the cathedral, possessed the virtue of curing the contagion. The church was immediately filled with people. But as many persons, already attacked by the plague, intermixed with the crowd, they communicated the infection to those who were yet untainted. The Archbishop of Moscow,* seeing the danger that attended such an assemblage of people, ordered the image to be removed from its place. At this the mob became furious,† and accusing the Archbishop of inhumanity and sacrilege, they forced open the gates of the monastery, where the prelate had sought an asylum. The Archbishop thought to have escaped the rage of the multitude by concealing himself in the sanctuary, to which, according

* Amorosi (Ambrosius), a virtuous and an enlightened man.

† It is difficult to conceive how far the Russians carry their fanatical superstition for the images of saints. They pay to St. Nicholas almost as much reverence as they do to the Almighty. After St. Nicholas, the first object of their veneration is St. Sergius. Each person has his peculiar Saint, to which he addresses himself in time of need. When his neighbours see that success attends the culture of his fields, and prosperity his commerce, they pay him a certain sum for a loan of the image of that Saint; to whom these blessings are attributed. Offerings then are made to the borrowed Saint, full of respect and obeisance. There are some Russians who will not go to their daily labour without carrying their Saint with them; and if a stranger comes to the house, and requests permission to salute the Saint, the mistress informs him that he is in the fields or on a journey.

to the Greek ritual, the priests alone have right of access. Unfortunately, a child saw him pass, and hastened to give the information. The mob burst into the church, seized the venerable Archbishop, dragged him to the door, and was on the point of killing him. The miserable prelate, seeing death before his eyes, conjured his assassins to permit him once more to ascend the altar, and take the communion. They consented to this petition, and quietly beheld the aged pastor accomplish his pious purpose. But scarcely had he finished, before they rushed upon him with renewed impetuosity, conducted him out of the church, and, with brutal vengeance, glutted their souls with his blood.*

The Empress had already sent assistance to stop the progress of the contagion; but that assistance was fruitless. It became absolutely necessary that some man of resolution and authority should be sent to enforce upon the people due subjection to those precautions and that cleanliness which is so little known in Russia. Gregory Orloff had the courage to brave at once both the raging of the plague and the height of superstition. He repaired to Moscow with extraordinary dispatch. He discontinued and forbade every assemblage whatever. He visited himself the persons attacked by the epidemic disease. He procured for them such assistance as they stood in need of; and he gave a particular charge to the surgeons and officers, by whom he was seconded, to have the clothes of the sick, who fell victims to this terrible scourge, burnt in their presence. The contagious influence at

* The Police Guards arrived too late to save the Archbishop; but they arrested the principal actors in this dreadful murder, and knouted them to death.

last yielded to the multiplied cares of Gregory Orloff and the excessive cold of the winter. But it had already destroyed in Moscow one hundred thousand inhabitants.*

* * The Russian army, after defeating the Turks, on their entering their territories and towns as conquerors, were met by the contagion, and brought it with them to their country; where the folly of several of their Generals contributed to its propagation, as if they thought, by a military word of command, to alter the nature of things. Lieutenant-general Stoffeln, at Yassy, where the pestilence raged in the winter of 1770, issued peremptory orders, that its name should not be pronounced: he even obliged the physicians and the surgeons to draw up a declaration in writing, that it was only a spotted fever. One honest surgeon, of the name of Kluge, refused to sign it. In this manner the season of prevention was neglected; the men fell dead upon the road in heaps. Several thousand Russian soldiers were by this means carried off: the number of burghers that died was never known, as they had run into the country and into the forests. At length the havoc of death had reached the General's own people. He remained true to his persuasion, left the town, and went into the more perilous camp: but his intrepidity availed him nothing; he died of the plague in July, 1771. Assistance now arrived; but it was too late: almost all the sick were sent to die in lazarets. The desertion of the place was the only remaining remedy. Two regiments of infantry and one battalion amounted only to four hundred men. To the same small number were likewise, in September, the regiments at Khoczim reduced, also from want of precaution. The baggages that had been packed up in the time of the plague were brought out, and opened, that the soldiers who had served the campaign in their waistcoats alone might have their coats against winter. The clothes were so infected, that the people who were employed in unfolding them were immediately attacked with mortal ulcers. In Kief no physician or surgeon had ever seen the plague; they therefore took it for a putrid spotted fever. Afterwards, but too late, they were better advised. The free intercourse at the markets and in the churches had already universally spread the miasma. Add to this, the soldiers were not restrained from robbing the infected houses of the dead; thus infecting themselves and others. Even the Commandant was negligent of his duty, in not taking care, by regulations and punishments, that the houses were duly cleansed and ventilated; nay, he

Upon his return to Petersburg, Gregory Orloff found in Catharine a sincere lover and a grateful Sovereign. Her Majesty had a column erected, and caused a medal to be struck, in order to impress on posterity the essential service that he had rendered his country.

The plague had not confined its attack to the interior of Russia alone. The Russian armies and the Ottoman troops, who were fighting upon the banks of the Danube, received the infection. By them it was spread in Poland; and this it was that served as a pretext for the invasion so long meditated by the King of Prussia.

The Empress daily added weight to the yoke that she had imposed on Poland. Her troops pursued, on all sides, the confederates of Bar, and plundered or ravaged their possessions. The Queen herself partook of the booty. The famous library belonging to Prince Radziwill, a valuable deposit of Lithuanian history, was conveyed to Petersburg, from whence, doubtless, it will never return. But at the very time that she exercised this odious system of plunder, Catharine sent to Warsaw declarations, in which

was covetous enough to cause whole chests full of linen and other goods to be brought out of these houses, and stowed in the vaults of his. The Governor gave rise to a shameful and stupid piece of superstition, to which he was persuaded by a Turkish officer taken prisoner, who purchased his freedom by it. This man wrote tickets, containing these words: "O great Muhammed, have pity for this once on the Christians, for the sake of our deliverance from captivity, and free them soon from the pestilence!" The Governor caused the writing to be stuck on poles against the belfries of the Christian churches. The people trusted to the remedy, and were still more careless of themselves than before: the pestilence, therefore, naturally spread farther and wider. Within a few months of the year 1770, one quarter of the town alone lost upwards of six thousand persons.' For this account I am indebted to a recent publication.

her equity, her benevolence, her desire to pacify the troubles of Poland, made up the principal part.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of Russia, made continual efforts to shake it off. They believed that their unhappy King acted in concert with the Empress; and, influenced by this persuasion, desired to revenge on him the miseries that proceeded from her alone. The confederates had elected a noble Pole, named Pulawsky, a man of an intrepid spirit, and so devoted to the cause of liberty, that, to promote the righteous justice of their claims, he hesitated not at the commission of crimes. Pulawsky resolved to possess himself of the King's person, and confided the execution of his project to three other confederates, with whose sagacity and daring spirit he was well acquainted. After they had taken a solemn oath, by which they had bound themselves to deliver the King into their General's hands, and to put him to death if they found it impossible to bring him alive; the three confederate chiefs and forty dragoons, disguised in the habits of peasants, made their way to Warsaw by different roads. They learned, on the following Sunday,* that the King was to spend the evening at his uncle's, Prince Czartoryski. At the close of the day some posted themselves without the city, while others watched in ambush near the road where the King was to pass. About ten o'clock at night, his Majesty, accompanied by fourteen or fifteen persons, and having one of his Aid-de camps with him in the carriage, was returning to the palace, when, all of a sudden, the conspirators advanced, and commanded the coachman to stop. Several

* The 3d of September.

pistols were at the same moment discharged at the coach. One of the Heyducques, pierced by a ball, fell to the ground * the rest of the King's suite, without excepting his Majesty's Aid-de-camp, took to flight. One of the assassins fired a pistol at the King, and pierced his hat; another struck him on the head and gave him a deep wound. They afterwards seized him by the collar, and dragged him between their horses through the darkest streets. Perceiving soon that respiration began to fail him, and that it was impossible for him to follow them on foot, they mounted the King upon a horse, and, when they came to the trench surrounding Warsaw, they obliged him to leap it with them. The horse upon which his Majesty rode fell and broke his leg. The King received a hurt in his foot. Another horse was given to him. One of the chiefs tore from his neck the order of the black-eagle of Prussia, and the diamond cross appendant to it. Then, the greater part of the conspirators dispersed. Seven only among them remained with the King, under the orders of Kosinsky, and these wandered about with him in the dark for some time, endeavouring to avoid the beaten roads. Soon they found themselves in a forest not farther distant from Warsaw than one league. Some Russian patrols were heard discoursing. The conspirators, at this, were frightened and fled. The King now was left with Kosinsky alone. But withheld from calling for assistance by the fear of being assassinated by Kosinsky, he endeavoured to persuade him to suffer his escape. Kosinsky hesitated for a considerable time. His oath kept him back. At last he yielded to the King's sollicita-

* He died the next day.

tions, and having, on his knees, implored his Majesty's pardon, conducted him to a mill at no great distance. The King, without discovering himself, immediately wrote a billet, which he sent by a peasant to the Colonel of his guards.

Warsaw was in a state of consternation. The King's hat had been found covered with blood; it was supposed that his Majesty was dead. But as soon as it was known that he had escaped from his assassins, transports of joy succeeded fear and anxiety.

Several of the banditti were taken, and perished on the scaffold. Kosinsky obtained his pardon. He retired to Italy, where the King allowed him a pension. As for General Pulawsky,* he published a manifesto, in which he declared that he had taken no part in the attempt committed against the life of his Polish Majesty. But no one gave credit to this declaration.†

The danger to which Stanislaus Augustus had been subject, furnished the Russians with a new pretext for pursuing the confederates of Bar, and making preparation for the dismemberment of Poland. But did Catharine want pretexts for her conduct towards that unfortunate country? We shall soon be convinced that she had arranged matters so as to do without them.

The Russians and the Turks stood equally in need of peace. Their armies, weakened by battles without number, by successive fatigues, and the contagion of disease, were always recruiting, and, in a greater proportion, always diminishing.

* Pulawsky afterwards went to America. He commanded a legion in the service of the United States; and being on a visit to M. d'Estaing at the siege of Savannah, in 1779, was killed by a cannon shot, by the side of that General.

† For a further account of this transaction see the Appendix to the 1st volume.

The squadron of Alexis Orloff still reigned triumphant in the Grecian seas ; but the Russians, so long stationed in a climate very different from their own, having abandoned themselves to intemperate excesses, became the victims of an epidemic distemper that threatened destruction to every sailor of the fleet. The Capudan-pacha, jealous of revenging his disasters, prepared new armaments in Constantinople, and flattered himself with opposing to his conquerors a squadron more formidable than that which the flames had destroyed. Baron Tott, a French officer, in the service of the Porte, triumphed over the ignorance of the Turks, and introduced into their arsenals a degree of order and activity that threatened the enemy with danger. The valiant Massum-Oglow had, for the second time, risen to the post of Grand Vizir, and resumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithstanding this, the two contending powers entered upon a negociation mediated by the Austrian and Prussian Ministers. An armistice was agreed upon,* and a congress appointed to meet at Fokhiani.

This opportunity appeared favourable to the projects of Gregory Orloff. He contended for the honour of treating with the Plenipotentiaries of the Divan. For some time past he had been desirous of sharing the throne that he had procured for Catharine. He thought that by giving peace to Russia, it would be in his power to secure a lasting claim on their gratitude, and smooth the difficulties that hitherto had stood in the way of his ambition. But this it was that precisely gave rise to new opposition.

* This armistice was signed by Simolin, the Russian Minister, and by Seid Abduckerim Effendi Muckabedladzi, Grand Notary of the Divan.

Catharine had been attached to Orloff from motives of the purest affection, and her regard for him still was very sincere. Orloff, on the contrary, had never felt these sentiments; his attachment arose from a principle of gratitude, and was dictated by a spirit of ambition. His Sovereign's favour had long pampered his vanity, and he seemed anxious to preserve that consideration; but when he thought that he had acquired a right to such distinction, his zealous ardour began to cool, and these very obligations were often looked upon as troublesome. The more Catharine sought to revive his former assiduities, so much the more eager did he appear to keep at a distance, and seek elsewhere those charms which he no longer found in her person. The Empress felt her pride greatly humbled by the cool behaviour of an ungrateful man, and was irritated at these repeated instances of glaring infidelity. But she was still bound to him by such powerful ties, that she dared not think of dissolving them. Bobrinsky* was the special cause of her love for Orloff. She had him secretly brought up in the suburbs of the capital, and often paid him a visit, under a borrowed name, and so disguised herself that she always passed unknown.

One day, when she had left the boy, and occupied her thoughts in devising some means to cure Orloff of his inconstancy, she supposed that this end would be acquired, if she married him in secret. She made him the offer; which Orloff rejected with disdain. He told the Empress that he thought himself not unworthy of the public acknowledgment of being her husband, and of sitting by her side upon a throne, on

* This is the son that she had by Count Gregory Orloff.

which she had been placed and hitherto upheld by him. Catharine, struck with astonishment, dissembled her feelings; but she saw from that instant, that the pride of her favourite might become fatal to her repose; and she triumphed, without delay, over an attachment that exposed her to such humiliation.

Though there existed no open breach of misunderstanding between Panin and Gregory Orloff, the downfall of the favourite was anxiously desired by the former. Too sagacious, and, without doubt, too timid, Panin had not the resolution to attack Orloff to his face; but upon every opportunity he gave him a side blow. Orloff was far from imitating the Minister in such conduct. He harboured not a thought of hatred against any one, although he himself was an object of the greatest detestation. His arrogant pride had raised him a host of enemies; his superior favour still enlarged that circle. All were satisfied on seeing him retire from court, and her Majesty partook in the satisfaction expressed by her courtiers. She hoped that his absence would completely subdue the remains of an ascendancy which he still retained over her affections.

Panin, who attentively watched his mistress's inclinations, soon perceived her complaisance to a subaltern of the guards, named Wasielitschikoff. He immediately resolved to make use of this young man for the accomplishment of Orloff's overthrow.

Czagar Czernischeff, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was still more odious than to Panin, seconded, with pleasure, the Minister's project. Both of them thought that the Grand Duke, who was not ignorant that Orloff entertained the presumptive thought of aspiring to the throne, could not see, but with satisfaction,

whatever had a tendency to keep him at a distance. They sedulously excited her Majesty's new inclination. At the same time they represented Orloff as a man actuated by mere ambition, to negotiate a peace at Fokhiani, in order to betray the interests of Russia ; and render himself independent, by procuring the sovereignty of Moldavia and Walachia. It became the less difficult to render him an object of suspicion to the Empress, because she found his rival daily more acceptable.

Wasielitschikoff pleased, because he was young and well-proportioned : but he was deficient in understanding, his talents were mean, he wanted experience, and was destitute of presumption. He might, perhaps, have never been able alone to succeed with the Empress. But he was not left without support. Prince Baratinsky, an adept in the art of intrigue, was not sparing in his counsels, nor behind in his contrivances.* Wasielitschikoff took advantage of them. The pliability of his disposition served him instead of merit. The Empress was so well satisfied with her new acquaintance, that she appointed him her Chamberlain, made him magnificent presents, and often treated him in public with a familiarity that easily discovered their intercourse.

When Catharine made a proposal to the imperious Orloff of marrying him in private, that favourite flattered himself with the expectation of irritating her desire, by which means his way to the throne would become more accessible. Accustomed to the enjoyment of an affection, secured by the tenderest pledge that love can

* Prince Baratinsky took upon him to manage the first interview of the Empress with her new lover.

give, he believed it impossible to be deprived of Catharine's heart. What, then, could he think, when he learnt that she had profited by his absence, to make choice of a new lover? At first the bare idea struck him with astonishment, and fired his rage. But his pride administered consolation. He thought that his presence alone would re-animate a flame not yet quite extinct. Full of this idea, he at once forgot the negotiations, the peace, all the important interests of the empire; and, without so much as applying to her Majesty for leave, quitted Fokhiani, and arrived at the gates of Petersburg. At the moment of his appearance, the officer on guard advanced towards the carriage, and shewed him the order, by which he was commanded not to suffer his entrance into the capital. Orloff kept a profound silence, and took the road for one of his country seats.

Two days previous to Orloff's coming to Petersburg, information had been received of his departure from Fokhiani. This unexpected return caused great uneasiness at court. The Empress, to whom the violence of his temper was well known, apprehensive lest, in spite of her wishes to the contrary, he should make his appearance, gave orders to double the guard of the palace, and to place sentinels at the door of her new favourite. Not yet thinking herself sufficiently secured by these precautions, she had the locks of her apartments changed, of which Orloff held the key. So much care was, however, useless. Orloff did not possess the means of inspiring fear. His disgrace was no sooner known, than he was deserted by his partizans, and his enemies discovered themselves in every quarter.

Orloff saw the danger of his situation, but his

courage remained undiminished. When he received an order, in the name of her Majesty, to vacate his official employments, he haughtily refused compliance with her command. The Empress might have easily punished a subject that opposed her will; but she rather preferred to treat with indulgence the lover who had so long engrossed all her affections. A compromise was set on foot with Orloff, who, being subdued by the respect that his Sovereign still deigned to express towards his person, consented to retire from Petersburg, and travel some time in the different parts of Europe. His submission was rewarded by one hundred thousand roubles, the brevè of pension of one hundred and fifty thousand, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate with six thousand peasants. He had already obtained a diploma of Prince of the Empire. Catharine insisted on his assumption of the title; anxious, no doubt, that her former lover should appear in the eyes of foreign nations with a splendor worthy of the exalted favour which he had enjoyed.

This part of Catharine's conduct seemed to betray a weakness. But it was altogether conformable to the character of one whose soul, made up of resolution and pride, knew how to bend when interest rendered it necessary. She felt, that by punishing Orloff, all those who had acted in her service would be struck with fear. She meant to persuade them that her gratitude even survived her affection.

BOOK V.

ARGUMENT.

Rupture of the congress at Fokhiani—Conferences at Bukharest—Partition of Poland—Peace of Kainardgi—Emigration of the Kalmouks—Disgrace of the favourite Wasielitschikoff—Duke Antony Ulric refuses his liberty—First marriage of the Grand Duke—Journey of Diderot to Petersburg.

¹⁷⁷² THE congress of Fokhiani, from the manner* in which it was opened, promised an approaching

* The congress was opened on the 2d of August. The plenipotentiaries were under tents; and the conferences were held in a kiosk, which the Russians had constructed for that purpose. Fokhiani is at the distance of about sixteen miles to the north of Bukharest, in Walachia. Nothing could afford a stronger contrast, than the magnificence of the Russian Ministers, opposed to the Ottoman simplicity. The former approached in four grand coaches, preceded by husars, and attended by one hundred and sixty domestics, suitably habited. The Turkish Ministers were on horseback, with about sixty servants, as plainly apparelled and accoutred as themselves. Prince Orloff was all over one blaze of jewels: on his breast was the Empress's portrait, set with brilliants, together with the ensigns of the several orders with which he had been invested; all of which, as well as his epaulet and buckles, and several other parts of his dress, shone with diamonds. On the other hand, Osman Effendi was clothed in a robe of green camlet, faced with ermine, and had nothing to distinguish him but a gold-headed cane. It would appear as if riches and magnificence had displayed their treasures in the wilds of Scythia; and that ancient simplicity had retired to the voluptuous nations of Asia. M. Obreskoff, late Minister at the Porte, attended Prince Orloff. The Austrian and Prussian Ministers at the same place having received a

peace. The Ministers from the Ottoman empire presented the Russians with superb carpets, stuffs of the finest texture, and arms of the most excellent quality. Osman Effendi, who first broke silence, said, ' That the Grand Signor, his master, had recommended him to serve God and cherish peace.' The Russians offered to Osman and his colleagues diamonds set in an elegant manner, various jewels of gold, and a choice assortment of furs. They answered, ' That they also loved peace and justice.' But at the same time demanded such exorbitant sacrifices as raised the Turks' astonishment, and revolted their feelings. After many fruitless propositions, the plenipotentiaries separated.

The negotiations were afterwards renewed at Bukharest, between Marshal Romanzoff and the Grand Vizir, Mussum Oglow. These two warriors, who had so often contended for victory in the field of battle, were not ignorant how much their armies wanted rest. But their conferences terminated with as little success as those at Fokhiana. The term of the armistice was expired. The pacificators thought no more but of prosecuting the war.

During the time spent in negotiating peace, new preparations had been made for another campaign. The Russians had concluded a treaty with the new Khan of the Krimea, whereby that Prince was acknowledged independent of the Grand Signor, and under the protection of her Imperial Majesty. The Porte, no less incensed at the defection of the Tartars, than irritated at the cession that they had made of the fortresses

present of fifty purses, amounting to about 25,000 dollars, each, from the Grand Signor, besides a fixed daily allowance for their expences, attended also at the opening of the congress.'

of Katgs and of Jeni-Kalé to the Russians, sent into the Black Sea a squadron of galliots and cebees. The Empress had already sent thither a considerable fleet, officered by several Englishmen * and Hollanders,† under the command of Admiral Knowles.

But an object of higher importance occupied the attention of Catharine at this moment. She saw herself at length upon the eve of reaping the fruits of the troubles and divisions which she had sown among the Poles. She had long acted in concert with the King of Prussia, and left to that Prince the sole management of procuring the consent of the court of Vienna to the dismemberment of Poland. She was likewise well assured that no obstacles of importance would arise from the interference of other powers. France had then a Minister not remarkable for his sagacity.‡ England was bound to Russia by commercial connections. The states bordering on the Baltic^l might see, with a jealous eye, the Russians and Prussians possessing themselves of ports upon that sea ; but none of them had either the means or the temerity to oppose their inroads. Were the Turks more to be dreaded than these ? Were they in a condition to afford succours to Poland, at a time when they could so ill defend their own territories, and when they saw themselves attacked in every part of their extensive empire ? No. Catharine had no reason to be apprehensive but of the re-

* Captains. Dennison, Perry, and others.

† Kinsbergen, and others.

‡ The Duke d'Aiguillon, who had been placed at the head of the foreign department, was better qualified for paying attention to the intrigues of the *Boudoir* and court cabals than for balancing the interests of Europe, and supporting the honour of the French nation.

usal of the court of Vienna. The accession of that, however, Frederick had undertaken to promise.

Frederick could, without hazarding his word, make such a promise. He had long been made acquainted, by the relations of his own Ministers, with the character of the heir of the house of Austria.

When Joseph II. in 1769, had an interview with him at Neiss, in Silesia, the Prussian Monarch, taking advantage of the ascendancy he had acquired by his experience and renown, proposed to the young Emperor the first division of Poland

Joseph II. pleased with the idea of enlarging his dominion, beheld his Majesty's project with joy ; but deferred his concurrence in the plan until he had taken the advice of the old Prince Kaunitz, by whose counsels he was directed. Kaunitz applauded the system of spoliation. Some time afterwards * the two Monarchs held a second interview at Neustadt, in Austria, and finally settled the dismemberment of Poland.

The plague, that ravaged the frontiers of Poland, had, since the preceding year, furnished the King with an excuse for advancing his troops into Polish Prussia. The Emperor had the same pretext for marching his into those provinces which lay most convenient for him.

Joseph II. appeared to second the confederates of Bar. By his last treaty he was bound to unite with the Turks against the Russians. But designs far different occupied the attention of this Prince, who so well understood the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, deceived by his promises, regarded, for a long time, the

* In 1770.

soldiers that were sent to invade their country as their greatest protectors and friends.

The foreign armies extended from one end of Poland to the other, and acted in concert against the confederates, who were soon obliged to disperse. The more numerous part returned to their homes. The rest vented, in foreign nations, their just complaints and accumulated injuries.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Poland. It was hard to conceive how three formidable powers could think of invading, in the time of profound peace, a country, whose independence was guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. The object of the continual negotiations that occupied these powers was likewise a subject of inquiry. At length all was discovered. The Minister of his Imperial Majesty was the first to notify to the King and senate of Poland the treaty of Petersburg. The Russian Ambassador and the Prussian Envoy followed it up, almost immediately, with declarations in support of that treaty.*

* This is the declaration of Baron Stackelberg, Minister of Russia. It discovers the insidious and false language, of which the desolators of Poland boldly dared to make use :

“ The powers in the vicinity of Poland have been so often involved in the troubles which every vacancy of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that the recollection of the past has directed their serious attention to the affairs of that state, as soon as, by the death of the late King, Augustus III. the throne became vacant.

“ Impelled by these considerations, and desirous of preventing the dreadful effects of future troubles, which, as in former instances, might have arisen on the last vacancy of the throne, the court of Petersburg eagerly took all possible measures to unite the citizens of Poland in favour of that candidate who should appear most worthy of the throne, most agreeable to his fellow-citizens, and most acceptable to the neighbouring states.

“ This court applied herself at the same time to the recti-

The indignant Poles cried out against this violation of justice. They claimed the inter-

fying of many abuses and defects in the constitution of Poland.

"The court of Berlin has seconded the attempts of her ally. And the court of Vienna, desirous, on her part, of contributing to the success of such laudable views, in order to avoid the danger of augmenting the difficulties which might arise from multiplying the number of those who undertook to settle the affairs of Poland, has thought proper to observe the strictest neutrality, not only with regard to the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, but also with respect to the war which was afterwards kindled between Russia and the Porte.

"The immediate consequence of these salutary measures was the free and legal election of Stanislaus Augustus,* the reigning King of Poland, as well as the forming of many useful and salutary establishments. Every thing seemed to promise Poland and her neighbours a firm and lasting tranquillity.

"But unhappily, when the most pleasing anticipations were conceived from these promising appearances, the spirit of discord, by seizing upon one part of the nation, destroyed every hope: citizen armed against citizen; the rebels of faction usurped the reins of authority; the laws of order and public safety were held in contempt; justice, police, commerce, and agriculture, all were destroyed.

"The natural connections which subsist between nations bordering on each other are so intimate, that the subjects of the neighbouring powers have already experienced the most disagreeable consequences from these disorders. They are obliged, at a great expence, to take measures of precaution, in order to secure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; they are exposed, by the uncertainty of events, to the effects arising from the entire dissolution of Poland; to the danger of seeing their mutual harmony and friendship interrupted.

"From this view of things, it inevitably follows, that nothing can be more urgent than an immediate remedy to so many evils, from which the neighbouring states have already experienced the most fatal inconveniencies.

"Impelled by reasons so numerous and consequential, his

* It was to the Poles that the Minister Stackelberg had the assurance to say, that the election of Poniatowsky had been free and legal!

vention of all those powers, by whom the treaty of Oliva was guaranteed ; a treaty that had assured to them the integrity of the kingdom, and which had been long regarded as the grand charter of the North. Some of these powers

Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, find themselves reduced to the necessity of taking a decisive part in circumstances so exceedingly critical. Their said Majesties have, therefore, determined among themselves, without loss of time, and with unanimous consent, to take the most effectual measures, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity and good order to Poland ; of establishing, on a sure and solid foundation, the ancient government of that kingdom ; and of protecting the rights and liberties of the people.

“ But in order to prevent the absolute ruin and arbitrary dissolution of Poland, by a happy concurrence of friendship and good understanding, that actually subsists between the coalesced powers ; as they cannot look forward to the same unanimity at any future period, and have respectively considerable claims on the possessions of the republic ; they cannot therefore abandon them to possible contingencies. They have therefore agreed and determined among themselves to assert these their ancient rights and lawful claims, which each of them will be ready to justify in due time and in a proper place.

“ His Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having reciprocally communicated their respective rights and pretensions, and made a common cause thereof, are determined to secure a proportionable equivalent, by taking to themselves an effectual possession of such parts of the Polish territories as may serve to establish for the future more natural and sure bounds between the coalesced powers : the said three powers engaging to give hereafter an exact specification of their respective quotas ; by which they will renounce, from the present moment, all revival of rights, demands, privileges, repetitions of damages and interests, which they might otherwise have or form on the possessions or subjects of the republic, &c.

“ Done at Warsaw, September 2, 1772.

Signed, “ STACKELBERG.”

We have since seen how faithfully these three powers have adhered to their renunciation !

made remonstrances ; but they were as unavailing as the complaints of the Poles. Not content with having already seized on a part of the provinces of Poland, the three despoiling courts demanded from the diet a solemn cession of those provinces.

The diet was immediately convoked and assembled * Promises and money were prodigally lavished to gain over the deputies. However, the majority of these, for a long time, refused their consent to the partition. Irritated at an opposition which was totally unexpected, the Ministers of the three courts menaced the diet with the severe animadversion of their respective Sovereigns. They threatened them with the arrest and deposition of their King ; and their emissaries secretly reported, that if the diet refused to yield, Warsaw would be delivered up to pillage. By such stratagems of art, the diet was at length forced into compliance. At the same time a decree was passed, limiting their sittings † to a small number of days ; and commissioners were appointed to settle with the Ministers of the three courts the conditions of the partition. It may easily be conceived that these conditions were dictated by the Ministers. They were signed in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the invaded provinces had the resolution to protest against the treaty, and publish manifestos. But what availed these isolated complaints against numerous armies ?

Before the convocation of the diet, and during its sittings, the King loudly declared against the partition. Notwithstanding which, it was as-

* The 19th of April.

† It broke up in the month of May.

serted that he secretly favoured the plan ; and those who knew his former attachment to Russia could not persuade themselves that he would renounce it.

The accession to this treaty was no sooner voted than several of the principal members of the diet waited upon the King, and loudly reproached him with the ruin of their country. His Majesty at first replied to them with mildness. But soon perceiving that his moderation only served to embolden their audacity, and render them more unjust, he rose up, threw his hat upon the ground, and fiercely replied, ‘ Gentlemen, I am weary of hearing you. The division of our unhappy country is the consequence of your ambition, of your dissensions, and eternal disputes. To yourselves alone you may attribute your present misfortunes. As for me, should no more territory be left to my possession than what is covered by my hat, in the eyes of all Europe, I should nevertheless be still acknowledged your lawful, but unhappy Sovereign.’

By the dismemberment of Poland, that unhappy country lost nearly five millions of inhabitants. The share that fell to Russia, and which was the greatest in extent, contained 1,500,000. That which Austria acquired had 2,500,000, upon a territory far less extensive. Prussia only possessed 860,000 souls.* But she

* Russia acquired 3440 square leagues, Austria 2700, and Prussia 900. The country usurped by Russia had for its limits the river Wella, from its source to the place where it falls into the Niemen; and the river Benefina, as far as Rzezyka, where it empties itself into the Dnieper. Austria took the whole of the left bank of the Vistula, from the salt mines as far as the mouth of the Wirotz, the palatinate of Beltz, Red-Russia, and the greater part of Wolhynia. Frederick took possession of Elbing, and the whole of Polish Prussia, excepting the cities of Dantzic and Thorne, which he took afterwards.

was indemnified by the commerce and vicinity of the Vistula, and by the city of Dantzic, of which Frederick had already formed the design of rendering himself master.

The three courts having thus appropriated to themselves the spoils of Poland, thought, at the same time, of securing their usurpations from the possibility of restitution. However dangerous was the form of its government, they were determined to render it still more corrupt. They granted to the commissioners of the diet full powers to act in concert with their own Ministers, in making the changes that the constitution of the republic demanded; and under the specious pretext of correcting its defects, they aggravated their enormity.

After protracted conferences, a new diet was assembled, in which the Ministers of the three courts proposed their plan of reform. This diet was tumultuous and more untractable than the preceding; and in spite of the influence of the Russian Minister, whose Secretary read the newly projected constitution, the plan was immediately rejected. The basis, as well as preamble of the captious memorial, presented at the same time by the Ministers of the three courts, is of itself too curious to be passed over in silence.

The courts are so strongly interested in the pacification of Poland, that while the treaties are prepared for signing and ratifying, their Ministers think that not an instant of that precious interval should be lost in restoring order and tranquillity to that kingdom. They shall therefore communicate to the commission a part of those fundamental laws, to the acceptation of which our courts will not permit the least obstacle or delay.

‘ 1. The crown of Poland shall be elective *for ever*, and all order of succession remain prohibited. Every person who shall attempt to infringe this law shall be declared an enemy of the country, and prosecuted accordingly.

‘ 2. Strangers who aspire to the throne, frequently being the occasion of divisions and troubles, shall hereafter be excluded from it; and a law shall be enacted that, in future, none but a native Pole, born a gentleman, shall be elected King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. The son and grand-son of a King shall not be elected immediately upon the death of his father, or of his grand-father; and he shall not be eligible till after the interval of two reigns.

‘ 3. The government of Poland shall be, and continue for ever, a free and independent government, of a republican form.

‘ 4. The true principles of that government, consisting in a strict observance of the laws, and in an equal balance of the three orders, viz. the King, the Senate, and the Nobility: these shall form a permanent council, in which the executive power shall be vested. Into this council shall be admitted persons of the order of nobility, who have, hitherto, been excluded from the administration of affairs, in the interval of diets,’ &c.

By these laws the house of Saxony, and other foreign Princes, who might have been able to preserve the integrity of the rest of Poland, were excluded from the throne; the *liberum veto*, with the other dangerous privileges of the nobility, re-established, and all the disorders perpetuated.

Stackelberg was still Ambassador from the

Empress at Warsaw,* more pliant than Repnin, but not less infected with pride or given to the spirit of intrigue. By dint of ingenuity and corruption he gained over the major part of the deputies, and the diet approved of the new form of government. This pernicious system, once established, was to be supported by Russia, Austria, and Prussia: but those powers took advantage of its defects, in order to annihilate it altogether.

While Catharine acquired, by negotiations, a part of the Polish provinces, her armies continued to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune, however, was not always favourable to them. Fourteen thousand Russians, who endeavoured to pass the Danube, were surprised* by Daghestan-Ali, Pacha, and six hundred of them remained prisoners in the hands of the Turks. Prince Repnin was of the number. He was conducted to Constantinople, and shut up in the Castle of Seven Towers.

Marshal Romanzoff crossed the Danube, and marched directly to Silistria. Eighty thousand Turks were encamped upon a neighbouring hill. General Weisseman attacked them: they retired within the town, and barricaded it against the enemy. Romanzoff presented himself before the walls the next day. The Grand Vizir had already sent a detachment from his own army

* It is a well known fact that, of all the Poles, the King experienced from Stackelberg the least respect. Whenever he was in company with that Prince he placed himself, without ceremony, before him, with his back turned to the fire, and the skirts of his coat turned up. The King, one day, paid a visit to Stackelberg. The latter was dealing the cards at the game of pharo, and, without quitting his play, contented himself with shewing a chair to his Majesty, and making a sign to him to sit down.

† At Georgiewo.

of 50,000 men, to relieve Silistria. Romanzoff effected his retreat during the night; but he was harassed by the Turks, who killed a great number of his men. Necessitated to repass the Danube, that General encamped near Jabolintz, in Walachia.

The Grand Vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment from his army routed a considerable body of Russians at Roskana. These separate battles often terminated in favour of the Turks.

Chagrined at seeing her armies checked in their career of victory, Catharine sent to demand of Marshal Romanzoff, why he did not give battle? This General returned for answer that it was because the Grand Vizir had three times the number of men that he possessed, and might easily take advantage of so great a superiority. Catharine wrote back immediately: 'The Romans never enquired into the number of their enemies, but where they were, in order to fight them.'

1774 Mustapha III. died, and Abdul-Ahmet,* his

* This is the portrait, drawn by Catharine herself, of these two Princes and their sisters, in colours not very flattering. 'No foreign minister ever sees the Sultan except in public audiences. Mustapha understands no language but his own; and it is doubtful whether he can read and write that. The disposition of this Prince is ferocious and sanguinary. It is said that he is born with talents: that may be; but I will dispute his prudence; he has shewn none during this war.—His brother is less imprudent of the two; but he is a bigot. He advised him against the war; and I cannot think that he will be intrusted with a command. But what, perhaps, will make you laugh, is, that these two Princes had a sister, who was the terror of all the Bashas. She was, before the war, upwards of sixty years of age. She had been married fifteen times, and when she was without a husband, the Sultan, who was very fond of her, gave her the choice of all the Bashas of his empire. Now, when a Basha marries a Princess of the Imperial family, he is obliged to dismiss his whole harem.

brother, ascended the throne of Constantinople. The latter years of the reign of Mustapha had been marked by sanguinary disasters. His successor endeavoured to raise the splendour of the Ottoman name. He made immense preparations for the ensuing campaign. The Turkish armies were again reinforced, and amounted in number to 400,000 fighting men.

Marshal Romanzoff also received fresh levies. He resolved to cross the Danube again, and attack the Turks. The latter disputed his passage with great bravery; but their efforts proved ineffectual. General Soltikoff* was the first who reached the opposite bank. Souwaroff and Kamenskoi followed close upon him. The Turks were repulsed. Romanzoff soon after encamped before the gates of Silistria.

A few days after this the Turks attacked Soltikoff. Their number amounted to 25,000 strong, and fought a considerable time with the greatest intrepidity: but they were obliged at last to submit to the superior skill and valour of the Russians.

The same day Kamenskoi and Souwaroff triumphed over the Reis-Effendi, at the head of 40,000 Turks, and carried off his artillery.

This continuation of disasters was highly distressing to the Turks. With them, the usual consequence of a defeat is a spirit of revolt and insubordination. The troops of the army of the Grand Vizir were either murdering each other, or deserting by whole detachments. That Ge-

This Sultana, besides her age, was malicious, jealous, capricious, and intriguing. Her interest with her brother was boundless; and frequently the Bashas whom she married were without heads; which was a circumstance not at all entertaining to them; but the fact is not, on that account, the less true.

* Since become Field-marshal.

neral was encamped at Shumala, at a great distance from the other bodies of the Turkish army. Romanzoff, not unmindful of his disadvantageous position, so skilfully surrounded the camp of the Vizir, that he not only cut off his communication with the detached corps, but also with his magazines. The Vizir, unable, from this circumstance, to receive any succours, or to retire, or to stand a battle, determined to sue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries met accordingly at Boudjouk-Kainardgé. The Russians persisted in the same demands they had made at the last congress. The Turks acceded to them; and the preliminaries of the treaty were signed * by Marshal Romanzoff, and the Kiaya of the Grand Vizir.† By this treaty Russia obtained the free navigation of the Euxine and all the Ottoman seas, together with the passage of the Dardanelles; on condition, however, that she should never have more than one armed vessel in the seas of Constantinople. Azoff, Taganrog, Kiertsh, and Kinburn were retained; but the rest of her conquests she restored. The independence of the Krimea ‡ made one of the principal clauses of the treaty, and it was that which the Turks felt most severely. They certainly were far from perceiving the policy of Catharine to its fullest extent; but they had formed a notion that she was only desirous of securing the independence of the Krimea, merely to be the better enabled to bring it into subjection.

Catharine had, by these means, gained a

* About the month of July. -

† To avoid appearing again in the presence of his conqueror, the haughty Mussum-Oglow feigned sickness.

‡ The peninsula of the Krimea, or Krim, anciently called the Taurica Chersonesus, is surrounded on all sides by the

double advantage ; she increased her own power and weakened that of her enemy. The commerce of the Black Sea and the marts of the Levant opened to her a source of immense riches. The protection which she granted the Tartars, furnished her with the means of forming a division among them, and of subduing their country. The acquisition of the Polish Ukraine enabled her to wage war on the Danube with greater facility, to strike terror into the Ottoman empire, and to complete the ruin of Poland. Discipline established among the Cosacs added to her armies an excellent cavalry. The good understanding which she kept up in the islands of the Archipelago, and in Walachia and Moldavia, became an endless cause of trouble and disquiet to the Turks. In fine, the Empress be-

Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, except where it is joined to the continent of the lesser Tartary by a narrow isthmus, something less than five English miles in breadth. This isthmus has received its name from the ancient city of Perekop, which is built at its entrance on the side of the peninsula, and has been celebrated for the strong lines made for its defence by the Turks, which extend quite across from the Euxine to the Palus Mæotis, and were the labour of 5000 men for a course of several years. The Tartars considered these lines as inexpugnable, until the famous Count Munich convinced them of their error in the year 1736, when he forced them without much difficulty. This must, however, in a great measure, be attributed to the badness of the defence, as the ditch was seventy-two feet broad, and forty-two deep: the height from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the parapet was seventy feet, and the parapet of a proportional thickness. The lines were also at that time, besides the fortifications of the city, strengthened with six towers mounted with cannon, and the whole was defended by an army. The peninsula lies between 33 and 37 degrees of eastern longitude, and between 44 and 46 degrees of northern latitude; is naturally fertile, and was, at first, under the government of the Greeks, and afterwards in the hands of the Genoese and other Italian nations; a place of great trade, and filled with populous towns and cities.'

held her influence and glory extending throughout the whole of Europe.

But while her condition from without was so prosperous and flattering, deep and cruel wounds consumed the interior of her empire. Her finances were dilapidated; her succours from England were purchased by granting immense advantages to its commerce. Pestilence had made dreadful ravages at Moscow and in the adjacent countries. That horrible disease had long been devouring the Russian armies; and the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempt from its dire contagion. Revolt devastated the provinces of Kasan, Astrakan, and Orenburg, and even threatened Moscow; an astonishing emigration * changed into waste and desert tracts countries that once flourished by commerce.

But this emigration merits our attention for a moment. It paints in glowing colours the character of a nation little known, and it evidently discovers with what injustice and barbarity the Russian commanders presumed to treat a free people, inclined to cultivate the blessings of peace and tranquillity. A horde of Kalmuks, consisting in number of about seven or eight thousand, attended the pasture of their numerous flocks upon those plains, between the provinces of Astrakan and Kasan, which are moistened by the refreshing streams of the Wolga. The inspection of these Kalmuks was entrusted, by the Governor of Astrakan, to a Lieutenant, named Kischenskoi. This man, avaricious to excess, gradually possessed himself of a great part of the flocks belonging to the

* This emigration happened towards the close of 1770 and the beginning of 1771; the mention of which was purposely deferred, that it might not interrupt the account of the progress of the war.

miserable people subjugated to his authority; these he sold, and put the profit arising from them into his own pocket. By such extortions he soon procured an immense fortune. But his avidity still craved for more: so far from being satisfied, it seemed to augment with the means of gratification.

The Khan of the Kalmuks was a venerable old man, who had spilt his blood in the service of Russia. Her Imperial Majesty had distinguished his valour by the present of her likeness in a medallion, encircled with diamonds, which the Khan wore suspended from his neck. One day Kischenskoi, who had already received abundant presents from the Khan, had the presumption to ask him for more. The old man, irritated at this, could not refrain from reproaches on his injustice, on his rapacity, on all the vexations that he employed to ruin the unhappy Kalmuks. Kischenskoi, stung with the truth of these reproaches, had the temerity to strike the Khan on the face; and having, at the same time, ordered his minister,* who interposed in the Khan's behalf, to be seized by his soldiers, he inflicted on him the punishment of the battogues.†

The Kalmuks had quietly borne the rapacity and peculation of the Russian officer; but this insult offered their venerable Khan, so highly respected among them, was a violence that could not be suffered. The priests and the elders of

* This minister has the title of Saissan.

† Battogues—a punishment used in Russia for petty offences. The sufferer is laid on his face, stripped to his waist, and his arms and legs extended. Two men, one sitting on his neck, and the other on his legs, beat him alternately on the back with rods about the thickness of the little finger.

the horde held a consultation, resolved to abandon the territory of the Russian empire, and withdraw to the foot of the mountains of Tibet, the country of their progenitors.

The secret of their flight was so well preserved, that two days passed over before the Russians knew any thing of the matter. Three regiments were sent in pursuit of them; but it was to no purpose. The Kalmuks exceeded them in diligence: and were, besides, two days before-hand with them*. These regiments wandered a long time in the deserts, where a considerable part of the soldiers perished.

When the news of this emigration reached Petersburg, a council of war was appointed to examine into the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Kischenskoi, and to pronounce upon it: but the trial was conducted with negligence, arising from informalities in the instructions. Kischenskoi employed a part of his rapine to procure friends at court, or to corrupt his judges: and to the great scandal of the majority of the Russians, this man, who had lost to his country such a number of subjects, was rewarded for his villainy by the title of Colonel.

* * * Concerning the number of persons lost to Russia by this emigration accounts do not agree. Some state it at 130,000 families; which is certainly exaggerated. More accurate statements say, that the horde in general consisted of not much above 70,000 tents, or hearths, or families. Those who voluntarily returned, (for doubtless many of them, on the fatiguing and painful expedition over the deserts, panted after the more quiet abode on the Woiga, and turned back), and those who were brought in by the Cosacs, are reckoned together at 12,342 tents. Those that escaped, therefore, estimating them at the highest, were 60,000 hearths. But how great the number of the individuals that died upon the road, and of those who were carried into captivity by the Kirguises, can never be known.

Catharine demanded, by a written memorial to the Emperor of China, the restitution of the emigrant Kalmuks. To this he replied, that their Sovereign was not a Prince so unjust as to deliver up his subjects to foreigners; nor a father capable of such cruelty as to drive away children who returned to the bosom of their family: that he had received no intimation of the design of the Kalmuks till the moment of their arrival; and that then he eagerly restored to them the habitations to which they had had a right from time immemorial: that, in short, the Empress had no reason to complain of the Kalmuks, but most certainly of that officer who had dared to lift his hand against the Khans, and to order their Ministers to suffer the battogues.*

Amidst the grand concerns that occupied its attention, the court of Petersburg was not negligent of little intrigues. However assiduous to the business of government, Catharine by no means renounced the love of pleasure. From the council she often frequented the ball-room and the theatre; and after the important sittings of the senate indulged herself in the most frivolous amusements. She gave audience to the Ambassadors of foreign powers, without needing any other dress than that in which she received her courtiers; and she dictated a law with the same facility as she wrote a gallant epistle. Satisfied with her new attachments, she never spoke of those who had gone before. Panin, Czernischeff, and Baratinsky applauded the work of their own operation.

But that which afforded them the most pleasing satisfaction was the removal of Gregory Or-

* This letter was written in the 36th year, the 7th month, and the 13th day of the reign of Kien Long.

loff. He had now spent nearly five months in travelling in foreign parts. His enemies pleased themselves with the hope that he would continue his absence for at least two years longer. The emissaries who watched his steps frequently transmitted accounts of his proceedings. He was supposed to be in Holland; and it was imagined that he intended to make the tour of England, France, and Italy. All at once, however, he re-appeared at the court of Petersburg. The Empress refused him admittance into her presence. She sent him orders to repair to Reval; but at the same time presented him with considerable gifts, and loaded with honours and caresses the most intimate friends of her former favourite.

What then could be the motive of this singular conduct? Catharine no longer entertained an affection for Orloff. She ceased to stand in awe of him. But she dreaded, she hated a faction which she conceived might be formed under the auspices of a name * dear to the empire, and formidable to Orloff. She wished to oppose to this faction the party of her former favourite; and to procure the support of a man by whom she had already been so well defended. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, this Princess was, notwithstanding, often a prey to the most poignant disquietudes: but these she concealed. The thought of being hurled from the throne, and losing her life, terrified her imagination; and she spoke with apparent cheerfulness of the long career that she hoped to run. One day she found a note in her cabinet that threatened her with assassination: never did she discover

* That of the Grand Duke.

greater confidence and more tranquillity of mind.

Ambitious of general fame, she could at all times so far constrain herself as was necessary to secure the acquisition. Her general character was that of dissimulation; vindictive, ungrateful; she was esteemed sincere, merciful, generous.

The blood of the miserable Iwan was yet reeking from the ground, when Catharine appeared distressed at the unhappy lot of that Prince's family. Duke Antony-Ulric of Brunswick,* and the Regent Anne, his wife, had had, after Iwan, two sons and two daughters, born in prison. The Regent Anne died in child-bed.† The Duke Antony-Ulric, and the four children that still survived, after having been dragged from one prison to another, were shut up in a convent of Kolmogory, a small town situated about twelve or fifteen leagues from Archangel. Catharine offered him his liberty, with the means of retiring to Germany. This the Prince refused. 'Why should I go,' answered he, 'out of the Russian empire, to publish the excess of my miseries, and to excite a barren compassion?'‡

Wasielitschikoff had now filled the place of

* The Duke Antony-Ulric of Brunswick was born in 1714, and died at Kolmogory in 1781. He was brother of the celebrated General Prince Ferdinand, and of Queen Julia-Maria, Dowager of Denmark.

† At Kolmogory, in 1746.

‡ After the death of the Duke, which happened in 1781, his two sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest was then upwards of forty, were transported to Archangel, afterwards to Berghen in Norway, and from thence to Horsens in Jutland, where one of the princes and the two princesses still live. The writer of this note was intimately acquainted with a gentleman who lived near these royal personages.

favourite for a considerable time. As he neither abused his interest, by accumulating immense riches for himself, nor endeavoured to undermine his rivals, he excited no appearance of envy. The Empress frequently praised his moderation ; and that quality, so uncommon in a courtier, seemed daily to increase her affection towards him. But on a sudden he lost the art of pleasing. At the very instant when he had just been receiving additional marks of her tenderness, an order was brought him to repair for Moscow. He obeyed. Fresh presents from the Empress accompanied his departure. But these were only remunerations of form, in which the heart had no share whatever.*

Whether Orloff had been secretly recalled from Reval, or whether he found his residence in that city an insupportable burthen, he now returned, and made his appearance again at court. The Empress was so far from punishing him for this liberty, that, on the contrary, he was received by her with an appearance of joy. Proud of this reception, and of the remembrance of his past favour, relying still on the devoted submission of his creatures, who were very numerous, he thought it possible for him to resume his honours and his influence. While he was in the full enjoyment of them, he often seemed to disdain the possession. No sooner was he deprived of that than he felt how necessary they were to his happiness. Orloff, born in obscurity, and tutored in the licentiousness of barracks, had found himself raised on a sudden to a point of eleva-

* Wasielitschikoff continued in favour twenty-two months. We shall hereafter mention to what sum the presents amounted which Catharine made, as well to him as to her other favourites.

tion, which, by feeding his natural pride, had neither altered his taste nor polished his manners. Eleven years spent near the person of his Imperial Mistress, in all the refinements of luxury and all the indulgence of voluptuous pleasure, restrained him not from braving the inclemency of the seasons, from exposing himself to the severest fatigues, nor from the pursuit of brutal gratifications. Since his dismissal from favour, he remained in possession of an annual revenue of 250,000 roubles, and of moveables to the amount of 300,000. Instead of supporting a household with splendour and magnificence, he led the life of a garrisoned officer. Though possessed of ample means to keep a table richly served with all the delicacies of the various seasons, he seldom ate but at the commensals of the court, which afforded very ordinary cheer. In the choice of his amours he was equally as indifferent. To him it was a matter of no consideration, whether he offered the incense of his soul to a vulgar Finn, to a savage Kalmuk, or to the most beautiful woman in Petersburg.

Jealous of the authority enjoyed by his rivals, and contemplating with envy the throne, upon which he had long flattered himself with the hope of sitting, Orloff demanded a reinstatement in the exercise of his functions, and the exile of Count Panin, whom he accused of being the author of his disgrace. Orloff seemed at that moment to have regained his wonted ascendancy over the heart of Catharine. She appeared with all the fondness that the most tender passion could inspire, and made not the least hesitation to restore him to his employments. She, however, refused her consent to the banishment of

Panin ; but promised to remove him from court as soon as the Grand Duke should be married.

At seeing Orloff reinstated in his employments, Panin felt a deep chagrin. But the blame of that attached to himself alone, since he had taken no measures to prevent its completion. Happy in the fortune and consequence he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midst of active life, and seeking retreat in the tumult of a busy court, it was only by sudden fits of passionate resentment that he gave way to a desire of injuring his rivals ; and though of greater ability than they, he had often seen them victorious.

‘ Count Panin is a poor creature,’ said a nobleman who had long studied the propensities of his mind. ‘ His partialities are ease and sullenness. To secure his friendship, you have but to laugh at his witticisms, and furnish him with an opportunity of exercising his talent for slander. On such occasions he will join in the laugh with all his heart ; and forget the affairs of government, the dispatches, the couriers, and even the intrigues formed against his reputation.’

Catharine had for some time meditated a marriage for the Grand Duke ; but as that Prince seemed to be of a weak habit of body and of a cold constitution, she considered it doubtful whether he seemed disposed to supply the empire with an hereditary succession. Her confidants soon found means to dispel her fears. They engaged a young Polish lady, named Sophia Cz——,* maid of honour to the Empress Queen, to try the force of her charms upon the Prince’s heart.

* Sophia Cz—— has since espoused the Count R——, who lived in France in 1788.

Miss Sophia consented ; and the fruit of this amour was a son, who received the name of Simeon Welikoi.*

From that time the Empress turned her thoughts upon the choice of a consort for the Grand Duke. In this consideration, however, she was a little embarrassed. She was far from desiring for a Princess who might become her rival, and who, treading in her own footsteps, might form attempts upon her throne and life. She rather sought after one who neither possessed the faculties nor cherished the desire of rendering herself formidable. Her eyes were fixed upon the daughters of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. These Princesses were three sisters. Catharine invited their mother to bring them to her court. However contrary this proposal might appear to long established custom, the Landgravine of Hesse Darmstadt accepted the invitation. That Princess was not silent to the voice of ambition. She listened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Russia. She repaired to Petersburg ; and was magnificently received by the Empress, and loaded with presents.† After having had time to form an opinion of the three young Princesses, Catharine chose for the spouse of the Grand Duke the Princess Wilhelmina, who embraced the Greek ritual,‡ and was united in wedlock to the heir of the Czars.

* Simeon Welikoi was of a disposition at once gentle and modest. Great care had been taken of his education. Entered, at an early period, in the navy, he served during the Swedish war under that deserving English officer, Vice-admiral Trevenen. He was afterwards a volunteer in the English navy, and died in the West Indies in 1797.

† She even insisted that the Landgrave should permit her to defray the whole expence of her journey to Petersburg.

‡ She took the name of Natalia Alexiewna.

Orloff and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be presently followed by the disgrace of Panin. Orders were issued for him to leave the apartments which he occupied in the palace in the quality of the Prince's governor. His friends trembled with alarm. The courtiers became shy of his company. He supposed himself undone. But his pupil had the generosity to oppose the storm. He hastened to his mother, represented to her, that Panin's attachment to the service of the empire had always been distinguished for fidelity; and that it would be an act of too much cruelty to dismiss him from the court, at the very moment when he had the greatest reason to expect remuneration. This meritorious procedure effected a change of mind in the Empress. Instead of commanding Panin to retire from court, she wrote him a letter full of sentiments of affection. She thanked him for the care he had bestowed on the education of the Grand Duke, and confirmed him in the appointment of Minister for foreign affairs.

To those who were unacquainted with the motive that induced the Empress to retain Count Panin, her conduct seemed to involve inexplicable contradiction. Orloff dared to reproach her with it: but she did not communicate her reasons to him. Unwilling that her favourite should know that a mother had yielded to the solicitations of her son, she said that it became his duty to sacrifice the gratification of removing a Minister who did not please, to the necessity that called for his services. Always capable of disguising her real sentiments, Catharine made no scruple of deceiving the favourite, who flattered himself with the entire possession of her confidence. Though she seemed to have restored him her former tenderness, yet she secretly har-

oured in her breast a passion which soon discovered itself. She entertained a thought of dismissing Orloff a second time : but caution forbade its immediate execution.

Among the learned and literary men with whom Catharine kept up a regular correspondence, Voltaire and Diderot were those whom she distinguished by a particular attention. She invited them several times to come and visit her. The philosopher of Ferney had, from experience, learnt the dangers of courts : he would not suffer the temptation of seeing that of Russia prevail. The Parisian philosopher was more open to persuasion. He visited St. Petersburg ; and received from Catharine a profusion of generosity and accumulated praise. During the whole time that he stayed at her court, she discoursed with him daily at the conclusion of dinner. Philosophy, legislation, politics, were commonly the subjects of these conversations. Diderot developed his principles on the liberty and rights of nations with his wonted enthusiasm * and accustomed eloquence. The Empress seemed to be delighted with his observations ; but was not at all the more disposed to reduce them into practice.

‘ Monsieur Diderot,’ said she, ‘ is in many respects a hundred years old ; but in others he is not more than ten.’

Her Majesty’s private opinion might not have been more favourable of the wisdom of Voltaire ; but of that she never spoke but with all the deference that is due to the prime herald of fame. Her manner of writing to him is well known.

* The Empress made him sit beside her. In his enthusiastic moments, Diderot sometimes hit her knee with the back of his hand ; she never seemed to be offended at it,

Several fragments of her letters we have already cited ; we shall, however, transcribe one of them in this place, as an additional proof of that artful disguise which she put on before the celebrated philosopher, in order to obtain those flatteries which he so prodigally bestowed upon her.

‘ ———* Now we are speaking of haughtiness. Upon that head, to you, I have a mind to make my general confession. Great success has attended me during the war. It is natural for me to rejoice at this. I said, Russia will be well known by this war ; it will discover her indefatigable disposition ; that she possesses men of eminent merit, who have all the qualities that can form heroes ; it will be seen that her resources are not deficient ; but that she can defend herself, and prosecute a war with vigour, whenever she is injuriously attacked.

‘ Full of these ideas, I have never so much as once admitted a thought of Catharine, who, at the age of forty-two, can neither increase in body or mind ; but, according to the natural order of things, ought to remain, and does remain, as she is. Do her affairs prosper ? So much the better ! she says. If they were less flattering, she would employ all her faculties to put them in the best possible train.

‘ This is my ambition : beyond this I have none other. What I tell you is the real truth. I will go farther : I will tell you that, to stop the effusion of human blood, I sincerely wish for peace. But peace is still at a distance, though the Turks, from different motives, desire it ardently. These people know not how to set about it.

‘ I am as eagerly desirous of pacifying the un-

* This letter is dated the 22d of July — 2d August, 1771.

reasonable contentions of Poland. I have there to combat brainless heads, each of which, instead of promoting the common peace, impedes its salutary influence, through caprice and levity. My Ambassador has published a declaration that ought to open their eyes: but there is reason to presume that they will rather expose themselves to the last extremity, than adopt invariably a wise and consistent rule of conduct. The whirlwinds of Descartes never existed but in Poland. There every head is a vortex continually turning round its own axis. Chance alone may stop its motion; but reason or judgment never will.

‘ I have not yet received from Ferney either your questions * or your watches. I entertain no doubt that the work of your artificers is perfect, since they work under your own eyes.

‘ Be not angry with your rustics for having sent me a surplus of watches: that expence will not ruin me. It would be very unfortunate indeed, were I so far reduced as not to have at command such trifling sums whenever I want them. Judge not, I beseech you, of our finances by those of other ruined powers of Europe: by so doing you would injure me. Though we have been engaged in a war for three years, our buildings are not checked; and every thing else proceeds as in a time of peaceful security. It is now two years since a new tax was imposed.† The war at present has its fixed establishment; which being once regulated, never deranges the

* “ Les Questions sur l’Encyclopedie.”

† With respectful deference to her Imperial Majesty, this assertion does not strictly agree with the augmentation of the capitation-tax of eighty kopecks, which she was obliged to abolish at the return of peace; any more than with the extraordinary taxes imposed on several manufactures, and on all works in iron.

course of other business. If we capture another Caffa or two, the expence of the war is indemnified.

‘ I shall be satisfied with my own conduct, Sir, whenever that conciliates your approbation. A few weeks ago I likewise read over again my instructions for the code, because I then thought peace to be nearer at hand than it really is, and I found that I did right in committing them to paper. I confess that this code, for which a quantity of materials are now preparing, and many others are collected already, will yet cost me much attentive consideration before it is reduced to that degree of systematic perfection, which will gratify my desire. But no matter: it must be completed, though Taganrog have the sea to the south and mountains to the north.

‘ However, it will be impossible to carry your designs upon that place into effect till a peace shall have secured its environs against all apprehension from sea and land; for till the Krimea was taken, it was the frontier place against the Tartars. Perhaps, in a little time, the Khan of the Krimea may be brought to me in person. I am this moment informed that he did not cross the sea with the Turks, but that he remained in the mountains with a very small number of followers, not unlike the Pretender in Scotland after the defeat at Culloden. If he comes to me, we will endeavour to give him a polish this winter; and, to revenge myself of him, I will make him dance, and he shall go to the French play.

‘ I was just folding up this letter, when yours of the 10th of July came into my hands, in which you describe the adventure that happened to my “Instruction”* in France. I knew that anecd-

* The instruction for a code of laws;

dote, and even the appendix to it, in consequence of the order of the Duc de Choiseul. I own that, on reading it in the newspapers, it made me smile ; and I found myself amply revenged.

‘ The conflagration that happened at Petersburg has, according to the reports of the police, consumed in all one hundred and forty houses, among which about twenty were stone buildings; the rest were only barracks of wooden construction. The high wind raised the flames and scattered the burning splinters on all sides; which occasioned the fire to break out afresh the following day, and gave it a supernatural appearance. But there is no doubt that the high wind and the excessive heat occasioned this disaster, which will be soon repaired.

‘ With us buildings are raised with greater dispatch than in any other country of Europe. In 1762 a fire happened of twice this extent, which consumed a large quarter of the town, consisting of wooden buildings. The whole was rebuilt in brick within a space of less than three years.”

BOOK VI.ARGUMENT.

Discontents in divers parts of the empire—Causes that determine several impostors to assume the name of Peter III.—Potemkin becomes favourite—His exile—His recall—Manner of installing and dismissing the favourites—Journey to Moscow—Pilgrimage—Potemkin wishes to induce the Empress to marry him—Marshal Romanzoff comes to Moscow—Regulations and edicts for the government of the empire—The Russians enter the Krimea again—Election of the Khan Sabim-Guerai—Zawodoffsky becomes favourite—Death of the first consort of the Grand Duke—Second journey of Prince Henry of Prussia to Petersburg—Journey of the Grand Duke to Berlin—His second marriage—Zoritz obtains the place of favourite.

1774 { THE prosperity of the Empress seemed, for a moment, to have reached its extent. A terrible storm was collecting in the remotest provinces of the empire ; it thundered, it advanced, it threatened to overturn the throne of Catharine. That Princess had excited discontent among the greatest number of her subjects. The nobility were offended at the capricious and arrogant airs of her favourites ; the clergy burnt with the desire of revenging the loss of their privileges, and the people murmured at the innumerable vexations which they were obliged to endure.

In short, the peasantry were almost become desperate at seeing their children successively torn from their families, to furnish recruits to the armies which fell by the hands of the Turks, and were incessantly mown down by the horrible plague, on the banks of the Danube. The Cossacs of the Don first gave the signal of revolt. They had at their head a man, who, knowing their credulity, and seeing the spirit of discontent spread among them, quickly succeeded in revolting several provinces; and who, had he taken a proper advantage of his successes, would, undoubtedly, have changed the fate of Russia.

But it is necessary first to explain what inducement urged this man to act the bold part he played. The priests could not pardon Catharine for not restoring to them their legal possessions. They thought to find in imposture one of the most sure and easy means of revenge. To this they accordingly had recourse. They privately spread the report that Peter III. was still living; and that he would soon make his appearance, to demand from the Empress a restitution of his throne.

A pretended Peter III. had indeed appeared in the province of Woronetz;* but he was taken, declared to be an impostor, and punished with death.

Some years after,† a deserter from the regiment of Orloff, named Czernischeff, shewed himself in the village of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Krimea, and also endeavoured to pass for the deceased Emperor. The priests procured him a great number of partizans, and were upon

* He was a shoemaker of Woronetz, and appeared in 1767.

† In 1770.

the point of crowning him in a church, when a Colonel of the Russian troops, who had received intelligence that Czernischeff was inciting the people to a revolt, seized the impostor, and instantly struck off his head.

In the country of Montenero, tributary of the Grand Signor, a physician, named Stephano,* profiting by the enthusiasm with which the Russian name inspired the Greek Christians of these provinces, induced them to believe that he was Peter III. Some of their bishops warmly supported him; and this stratagem occasioned an insurrection among the people: but the janissaries soon routed the Illyrian, who fled for his safety: more fortunate than the other false Peters, he escaped the scaffold.

After these a fourth impostor appeared in the government of Oufa. Born a vassal on an estate belonging to the family of Woronzoff, he deserted to the Cosacs, and followed a detachment which was going to join the Russian army. Upon his arrival at one of the stations in the desert between the Don and the Wolga, he assembled his comrades, and assured them that he was Peter III. This stupid and barbarous crew believed his assertion, acknowledged him as Emperor, and swore to die in his defence. He proceeded then to nominate his Ministers, his Generals, and prepared himself to wear the crown with as much confidence as if he had really possessed a kingdom and a powerful army. But his reign was short. At the expiration of a few hours a Russian officer came, and seized his new Majesty by the hair of his head, had him bound by his own

* He was a restless being, who had served in the seven years war, and afterwards had no inclination to peace and tranquillity.

subjects, and sent him to prison at Czaritzin. There the soldiers and some inhabitants, incited by the monks, made an attempt to set the impostor free. But Colonel Zipletoff, Governor of the fortress, in which a part of the garrison still retained their fidelity, succeeded, after several volleys of musketry, in dispersing the seditious. The impostor was immediately condemned to the knout, and died under the scourge of the executioner.

A prisoner at Irkutzk * attempted to imitate the four delinquents of whom we have just been speaking, and met with no better fate. All these tragical farces were but the prelude to bloody scenes prepared by a more formidable knave.†

To motives merely political Gregory Orloff was indebted for his restoration to favour. Policy may feign the passion of love, but cannot call it forth. Catharine affected to entertain for her former lover those sentiments which were quite extinct. She lavished on him flatteries, but could not restore him the possession of her heart. Orloff was therefore mistaken in imagining himself to be the sole cause of Wasielitschikoff's dismissal. This sacrifice was not made to him.

For a long time past the Empress had remarked Potemkin's manly elegance and noble demeanour. She recollected with complacency, that on the day of the revolution of 1762, Potemkin being then very young, had seized the moment when she mounted her horse to present her with his sword knot. She resolved at length to become more intimately acquainted with him; and the first

* In 1772.

† This was Ikhelman Pugatscheff, for a particular account of whom and his conspiracy, see the Appendix to vol. I. of this work.



interview secured to this new lover the superiority over all his rivals. Wasielitschikoff was turned off, and Orloff restored to favour; but he became disgusting.* Potemkin alone could console her Majesty in secret, under the uneasy sensations occasioned by the war, the apprehensive fears inspired by the rebellion, and the vexatious misunderstanding that prevailed between the old favourite and the Minister Panin. Potemkin grew presumptuous; success increased his pride, of which he soon became the victim.

One day, as he was playing at billiards with Count Orloff, he inconsiderately boasted of the favour that he enjoyed; and even asserted that it entirely depended upon him to remove from court such persons as were displeasing to him: Orloff made a haughty reply. Upon this a quarrel ensued; in the warmth of which Potemkin received a blow that occasioned the loss of an eye. This was not his only misfortune. Gregory Orloff, informed of the affray by his brother, ran to the Empress, and requested Potemkin's removal from court.

Potemkin retired to Smolensk,† his native place, where he remained almost a year in solitude, suffering much from his eye,‡ and his solitary exile from court. At one time he declared his resolution of turning monk; at another pretended that he should become the greatest man in Russia. At length, in a sudden fit, he wrote

* It is asserted of this man, that his manners were coarse, his presumption insufferable, his pride overbearing.

† Prince Potemkin was born in the neighbourhood of Smolensk, and sprung from an obscure family.

‡ It has been reported that the injury done to his eye might have been cured; but that, in his impatience, he burst a slight tumour that had formed on the side of the ball, and totally deprived himself of sight.

to the Empress, beseeching her to think of him. Her Majesty immediately complied with his request, recalled, and placed him again in full possession of her favour. Orloff had been for several days at the sport of the chace. His absence afforded an opportunity for installing Potemkin at the palace ; and on the return of the old favourite, no complaints and no reproaches could remove the new ascendant from his exalted situation.

It may be deemed necessary in this place to explain what were the duties expected from, and the distinguished honours paid to, the favourites of Catharine.

When her Majesty had made choice of a new favourite, she created him her General Aid-de-camp, in order that he might accompany her wherever she went, without incurring public censure. From that period the favourite occupied in the palace an apartment under that of his royal mistress, to which it communicated by a private stair-case. The first day of his installation he received a present of 100,000 roubles, and every month he found 12,000 placed on his dressing-table. The Marshal of the court was ordered to provide him a table of twenty-four covers, and to defray all his household expences. The favourite was required to attend the Empress wherever she went, and was not permitted to leave the palace without asking her consent. He was forbid to converse familiarly with other women ; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the absence of the mistress of the house was always required.

Whenever the Empress cast her eyes on one of her subjects, with the design of raising him to the post of favourite, he was invited to dinner by some one of her confidants, on whom she

called as if it were by chance. There she would draw the new comer into discourse, and judge how far he was worthy of her destined favour. When the opinion she had formed was favourable, a significant look apprised the confidant, who, in her turn, made it known to the object of her royal mistress's pleasure. The next day he received a visit from the court physician, who came to inspect the state of his health ; and the same evening he accompanied her Majesty to the hermitage, and took possession of the apartment that had been prepared for his reception. These formalities commenced upon the choice of Potemkin, since which time they have been constantly observed.

When a favourite had lost the art of pleasing, there was also a particular manner in his deprivation. He received orders to travel ; and from that moment all access to her Majesty was denied him : but he was sure of finding at the place of his retirement such splendid rewards as were worthy of the munificent pride of Catharine.

1775 Peace being established with the Turks, and the rebel Pugatscheff consigned to oblivion, Catharine had leisure to indulge an affection that was the mere offspring of novelty. Potemkin had acquired an almost absolute ascendancy over her will. Conscious of this, he abused his power. He daily obtained an accumulation of favour ; and when, from motives of prudence, her Majesty refused him any thing he requested, his sullen humours and angry flights of passion would extort compliance.* It was by such singular

* It has been said that he carried his passion so far as even to strike her Majesty, and by so doing, that he only followed Orloff's example.

means that he entered into the council, and procured the appointment of Vice-president at War. Count Czagar Czernischeff * was the President. Potemkin, whose ambition would not suffer any one equal to himself, resolved to ruin the Count in the estimation of the Empress, and succeeded in his attempt. Czagar Czernischeff delivered in his resignation ; and though the favourite, from want of abilities adequate to the discharge of the important office of Minister at War, was totally unqualified for the situation, yet he made no scruple to take it upon him. So much presumption created him a number of enemies : he was reproached with undertaking a diversity of concerns, and leaving none complete ; of making indiscriminate promises to every suitor, and disappointing all : of employing himself to no effectual purpose, but in the aggrandizement of his own enormous power.

The Empress had succeeded in reconciling Potemkin with the Orloffs, and exerted all her efforts to preserve peace between them. Though she had not now the smallest remains of affection for Gregory Orloff, nor perhaps even of gratitude, she still kept upon terms with him. As for him, ever jealous, not of the pleasures, but the honours of Potemkin, he requested permission to retire from court ; but to this the Empress would not consent. She preferred the endurance of those scandalous scenes to which Orloff exposed her by remaining at court, rather than permit him to carry abroad a resentment, which might not indeed be dangerous, but which circumstances might render alarming. She had still another motive for his retention : she en-

* Who, in 1762, had the command of the army sent into Silesia.

tertained a hope that his presence would restrain the audacity of his rival. After having long opposed Panin to Orloff, she now thought of using Orloff as a foil to Potemkin.

Mortified at a refusal of permission to retire, a permission which had been once forced upon him against his inclination, Orloff had a long conference with her Majesty. He brought to her recollection the obligations which she owed to him; he boasted of his zeal and fidelity in her service; he even ventured to tell her that she had nothing to reproach him with but the being less young than his rival. Catharine listened to him with the utmost composure; and, without denying in plain terms the wrongs of the lover, she assured him that the Empress was ever his friend. By having recourse to this art of persuasion, which she exercised with such peculiar ease, Orloff was determined to remain.

Ere long, however, Orloff experienced another vexatious disappointment. The execution of Pugatscheff had scarcely taken place before the Empress resolved on visiting Moscow. It was her wish at once to enjoy the triumph she had gained over a rebel, and, by her presence, to complete the destruction of any hope that might still agitate the breasts of the disaffected. Orloff attempted to dissuade her from this design; Potemkin endeavoured to confirm her in it. The ideas of the latter were in unison with those of Catharine; he therefore easily carried his point. She departed for Moscow.

Her Majesty knew that, in her way to Moscow, she must pass through provinces where the priests were held in high esteem, and the people kept by them under the yoke of the grossest superstition. On their childish bigotry she looked down with contempt, and held in abhorrence its

dangerous ministers : but she recollected that it had been subservient to her purposes when she formed the design of dethroning her husband ; upon which account she disdained not to employ it again in order to regain the alienated affections and attract the reverence of an ignorant multitude. To effect this, she carried with her a great number of little images of saints, which she distributed among all the churches and chapels on the road. But for the cathedral of Moscow she destined a large picture, richly clothed, and decorated with diamonds ; this she caused to be placed in a carriage, which, during the whole of the journey, and when she made her public entry into Moscow, immediately followed her own.

Six hundred men from each regiment of the guards had preceded her arrival in that great city, and put themselves under arms to receive her.

Two triumphal arches had been erected,* and preparations made for a superb entertainment. Her retinue was brilliant, the crowd of spectators immense, but order and magnificence generally prevailed. Nothing was wanting but acclamations of joy. The people, rather amazed than affected, did not express the least sign of satisfaction. The Empress had announced a diminution of taxes ; but the hearts of the populace seemed as little impressed by her generosity, as by the pomp of her splendid train.

The Grand Duke experienced a very different reception. He saw on every side instances of homage and respect, that were denied his mother, profusely lavished on him. It is asserted, that

* These two triumphal arches cost, it is reported, 40,000 roubles.

a courtier, struck with this contrast, and desirous of penetrating into the sentiments of the heir to the throne, said, ' Prince, see how much you are beloved. Oh, if you would !——' The Grand Duke answered not a word, but gave the courtier * a look so expressive of severity, that it sufficiently proved, though he was kept out of a throne to which he had a right, yet he did not on that account lose sight of the duty becoming a dutiful son.

Some days after her Majesty's arrival at Moscow, she performed a pilgrimage to a convent situate at the distance of forty wersts from the metropolis: she walked on foot the whole way, attended by all her court. Count Panin alone was not invited to this hypocritical farce. Out of revenge for this disrespectful mark of inattention, he said, ' The Empress was unwilling that I should take a part in her pilgrimage, because she has found in me a want of devotion, and not enough of the courtier.'

Panin not only neglected the incumbent duties of a courtier, but failed in the discharge of his ministerial obligations. Indolence and amusements were now his principal business. He seldom read the dispatches of the Ambassadors, and very rarely deigned to answer their contents. This conduct armed his enemies against him. It favoured in particular the ambitious Potemkin, who ardently longed for Panin's removal. On succeeding Orloff in favour, Potemkin ventured to tread in the same steps, and form the same designs with his predecessor, in aspiring to obtain the hand of Catharine. But

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky, one of the Hetman's sons. The other, who is called Count Gregory Razumoffsky, cultivates the sciences at Lausanne.

he was awed by Panin's frankness, his persuasive eloquence, his art for intrigue, of which, in spite of his indolence, the old Minister could still make a skilful use.

What strange metamorphoses will not ambition effect! Potemkin, the most arrogant man of all Russia; he who seemed the least calculated to submit to the bridle of restraint, and who himself, devoid of the slightest tincture of religion, had ridiculed every mode of faith, all at once assumed the exterior of a rigid piety. At the beginning of Lent, he was seen to bid adieu to the indulgence of good cheer, which no one loved better than himself, to feed upon roots, and drink only water; he went to confession almost every day. He had taken care to make choice of her Majesty's confessor, to whom he revealed his illicit intercourse: at the same time begged him to inform his royal mistress that, alarmed by the terrors of conscience, he could no longer indulge an affection when not sanctioned by marriage. Whether the monk had been gained over or not, he faithfully executed his commission. Catharine came to no explanation with him; but easily guessing the motive of Potemkin's scruples, she sent for her lover, and spoke to him with tenderness, but at the same time with dignity. She said, that, notwithstanding her regard for him, passion should not subdue her resolution; and if he were resolved no longer to fill the post of favourite another might easily succeed in his place.

Potemkin, humbled and confounded, found it impossible to conceal his vexation from the perception of the courtiers. He was even heard to declare that he would take holy orders, and cause himself to be consecrated Archbishop.

But Catharine returned to Petersburg.* Potemkin followed her, and soon buried his hypocritical devotion in the pursuits of ambition, and the boundless enjoyments of pleasure.

But the intrigues of the court have caused a temporary digression from objects of greater importance. We ought not, however, to forget that the pleasures of Catharine by no means prevented her application to the necessary cares involved in the government of her empire.

During the first days of her residence in Moscow Marshal Romanzoff arrived,† whom she received with every mark of respect due to the most illustrious support of her throne. At first it was her intention that he should have entered Moscow on the same day with herself; and, advancing on horseback between the triumphal arches purposely raised to his honour, should have met her without alighting to the ground. But the brave and modest conqueror of the Turks thought it his duty to decline these honours. He felt that, by accepting all that gratitude offered, Imperial glory might receive a wound. His renown already excited the courtiers' envy, especially that of Potemkin. To what a height would it not have risen had he accepted the homage intended for him by her Majesty! He appeared then before his Sovereign, not as a triumphant hero, but as a soldier come to give an account of his victories.

The next day her Majesty, accompanied by

* The Empress made her journey from Moscow to Petersburg in a sledge; and though she turned out of her way to visit an armory, she was not more than four days on the road. Peter the Great went, it is said, once from Moscow to Petersburg in forty-six hours, in a sledge drawn by twenty-four horses.

† The 20th of July.

the Grand Duke, the principal officers of state, and all her courtiers, went on foot from the ancient palace of the Czars to the cathedral of Moscow, in order to hear a solemn mass, and a *Te Deum* sung on occasion of the peace.

At the conclusion of this ceremony, the private Treasurer of the Empress read, with a loud voice, the list of the recompences conferred by her Majesty upon the Generals who had distinguished themselves in the Ottoman war.

Marshal Romanzoff received a landed estate with 5000 peasants, 100,000 roubles in ready money, a very fine service of plate, a hat encircled with a laurel branch ornamented with jewels, and valued at 30,000 roubles, the star of the order of St. George, and an epaulette of diamonds, with a magnificent truncheon of Field-Marshal.

Alexis Orloff received 60,000 roubles, and a sword superbly enriched with diamonds. The Generals, Paul Potemkin, Panin, Dolgorouky, Soltikoff, Czernischeff, and several others, also received distinguished marks of Catharine's munificence *

Catharine had, for some time past, meditated

* General Paul Potemkin was presented with a diploma of Count of the Russian Empire, and her Majesty's picture set with diamonds.

General Panin and Prince Dolgorouky had 60,000 roubles each, with a sword and diamond star.

Count Soltikoff, the second class of the Order of St. George.

Count Iwan Czernischeff, the Order of St. Andrew.

Ribbons of St. Alexander Neusky were conferred, and military promotions took place.

Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and appointed Commandant of Cronstadt.

Next day the Grand Duke bestowed 11 ribbons of the Order of St. Anne.

a regulation for the interior government of her dominions; this she ordered to be printed at Moscow, but not carried into execution except in the governments of Smolensko and Twer; because the people of those two provinces appeared more enlightened, more docile, and consequently more adapted to insure success to the trial of the new code of laws. *

Before she promulgated this regulation, the Empress repaired to the senate, in all the pomp of Imperial grandeur, and there caused it to be enregistered in her presence. She had already enregistered an *ukause*, that called forth the gratitude of a numerous body of her subjects. The inhabitants of the distant provinces had, till that time, been obliged to travel up to Petersburg or to Moscow, in order to try their suits at law. Catharine wished to save them these long and expensive journies. She declared that, for the future, all suits should be determined by the provincial tribunals, reserving, however, to the parties the right of appeal from the judgment of these tribunals to either of the senates, and even to the Imperial Council; but, with this declaration, that, if the former judgment were confirmed, the appellant should submit to a fine.

Another *ukause* diffused a spirit of joy among the inhabitants of Siberia. The rebellion of Pugatscheff had long interrupted their commerce, and the want of money still impeded its operations. By applying a remedy to the latter inconvenience, the Empress obliterated the remembrance of the former. A bank was established at Toblosk, and entrusted to the care of

* The regulation was afterwards successively introduced into the other provinces of the empire.

Gotowzoff, who had already given proofs of his skill in the direction of the bank of Petersburg. The commerce of Siberia from that period regained its wonted activity.

The general commerce of the empire attracted Catharine's especial attention. She gave it her utmost encouragement; justly considering it as the principal source of her grandeur.

In the edict, * that preceded the regulation of which we have spoken already, the Empress, in order to inspire those of her subjects who devoted themselves to commerce, with the spirit of emulation, and to confer on them a distinguished mark of her respect; freed them from the capitation, and the necessity to which they had hitherto been obliged to submit, of drawing lots for supplying the army and navy with recruits. She likewise permitted all free boors to enroll themselves in one of the mercantile classes, † on condition of paying annually to the crown one per cent. on the capital employed in their traffic.

With the same design of extending the commerce of her empire, it was, that the Empress renewed her treaty with England. She also patronized industry and agriculture. New manufactories were established, workmen were employed to rebuild the villages, and repair the devastation occasioned by the rebellion of Pugatscheff to the colonies on the banks of the

* It is called in Russia the edict or the ukase of grace.

† The Russian traders, or merchants, are divided into three classes. The first is composed of those who possess, or are rated as possessing, a capital of 100,000 roubles: the second, of those who have 50,000 roubles; and the third, of those who have only 100 roubles. They pay to the government according to the class in which they are inscribed; and we may easily imagine that pride often gets the better of truth, and triumphs over avarice itself.

Wolga. But, unfortunately, those to whom the Empress committed the exercise of her authority seldom fulfilled her intention. Purpose. ly set apart to instil into the minds of her numerous subjects a principle of veneration for her government, they made it detested by their abominable conduct.

Some of the new colonies had been devastated by the depredations of the rebels, and all were upon the eve of ruin, through the mal-administration and faithless villainy of the Russian agents. The 100 000 colonists, which Catharine had invited into her country,* the greater part of whom were Germans, in ten years afterwards found their numbers reduced to less than 29,000, † dispersed and languishing in the parts about Saratof, Kiof, and Czaritzin.

Catharine was still at Moscow, when she learnt that certain officers had just been following the example of Lieutenant Colonel Kischenskoi, ‡ whose unworthy conduct has been already mentioned. Their extortions forced a horde of Bashkirs to revolt. These Tartars not only refused to pay the accustomed tribute, but massacred the Russian officers, as well as the Popes, who were sent to them. They afterwards placed in the portable chapels of these Popes the images of the Dalai Lama, preferring their old idolatry to a religion of which the votaries were to them only greedy oppressors. The Empress opened a conference with them. The rapacious officers that presided over them, were superseded by men of greater moderation, and the horde peaceably returned to the Russian subjection.

* In 1764 and 1765.

† 28,293 persons of both sexes, forming 7,185 families.

‡ The same whose covetousness forced 8000 Kalmuks to abandon Russia, and retire to the mountains of Thibet.

While Catharine subdued by moderation the rebellious Tartars of the eastern part of her empire, she spared no efforts to drag those of the Lesser Tartary under her yoke. The conquests of Prince Dolgorousky had disposed a great number of the inhabitants of the Krimea to favour the Russians. The new Khan, Dewlet-Guerai, was still devoted to the Ottoman interest; a part of his people refused to obey him. Peace was now established between the Turks and the Russians; but the Tartars still continued the warfare. The treacherous Russians disseminated the seeds of revolt among them by bribes and presents. They secretly stirred them up to rebellion; they sometimes even supported them with arms in their hands. All at once they appeared in the Krimea with fresh armies; and under the pretext of surprising Dewlet-Guerai, carefully gave him an opportunity to effect his escape. Dewlet-Guerai took advantage of it; but the Khan had scarcely quitted his country, when the Russians caused to be elected in his stead Sahim-Guerai, whose pliability of character was as well known to them as his attachment to the Russian interest.

The Russians soon after constructed a fortress between Kersch and Jeni-Kali. The Turks, dissatisfied with the revolution of the Krimea and the usurpations of Russia, threatened to take up arms. The imprudent and feeble Sahim-Guerai, acting by the advice of a Russian agent who resided with him, sent to Petersburg a deputation of six myrzas. * This homage was too flattering to the pride and ambition of Catharine, not to meet with a favourable reception: she seemed to behold in these myrzas new

* Tartarian nobles.

subjects come to take their oath of allegiance. She treated them with friendship. Previous to their audience, they were habited in magnificent castans. * They intreated her Imperial Majesty to extend her protection to their Khan: a fatal protection! for which that unhappy Prince afterwards too dearly paid.

Marshal Romanzoff had already received a command to collect an army on the banks of the Borysthenes. † Every thing seemed to announce an approaching rupture between Russia and the Porte: but Prince Repnin, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Empress to Constantinople, for some time warded off the Divan's resentment. This was all that Catharine wished. She only desired time to prepare for encountering with advantage. The war was necessary to her schemes of invasion.

Ever occupied with schemes grand in design, Catharine, to appearance, however, seemed to think of nothing but pleasure. Her time devoted to matters of business was divided with so much ability, that she always found a portion adequate to the discharge of diplomatic affairs; sufficient for the publication of new laws; for writing, with her own hand, the orders sent to her Ambassadors and Generals; for keeping up a regular correspondence with men of letters and artists; for giving regular audiences to her subjects; for sharing all the amusements of her court; and for the indulgence of those gratifications which arose from her intrigues of gallantry. Constant in her ambition, she was often faithless in love; and coquetry was as dear to her as to other females.

* Each of these castans cost 4000 roubles each,

† The Dniester.

She had scarcely returned to Petersburg before Potemkin ceased to be the object of her affection. She loaded him with benefits; she seemed to want honours and dignities enough to confer upon him; she promised him the sole possession of her love, but her heart already decided in favour of another. A young Ukrainian, named Zawadoffsky, possessed her secret smiles. She began by appointing him her Secretary. Her Majesty shortly after openly called him her favourite. This change introduced a scene of a very extraordinary nature at the Court of Catharine. Whenever that Princess issued an order, the execution of it always appeared inevitable; she ever exacted implicit obedience. It was now generally known, that the discarded favourite received orders to travel, and that he was no longer permitted to present himself before the Empress till she should deign to recall him. The lofty Orloff had himself submitted to that form of dismissal. Potemkin dared to evade it. On receiving the fatal order he pretended to depart; but the very next day came, and with the utmost composure, placed himself in front of the Empress, just as she was sitting down to her party at whist. Without uttering the least complaint at the rash disobedience of Potemkin, Catharine advanced him a card, told him that he always played happily, and spoke no more of his dismissal. Potemkin kept his appointments, and reserved his honours, possessed his influence, and from the lover became her Majesty's friend. Zawadoffsky knew the art of pleasing: but Potemkin had rendered himself useful; and his genius, more nearly allied to the genius of Catharine than that of any other of her favourites, still retained his wonted ascendancy over her mind.

Orloff, who had been too suddenly informed of Potemkin's disgrace, in the mean time hastened to Petersburg. Here he found his rival not only in the enjoyment of his Sovereign's affection, but still possessed of her confidence. Orloff flattered himself with being able to resume that confidence, while a youthful lover, totally ignorant of politics, possessed the heart of Catharine: but he was soon undeceived. He appeared at court, kissed her Majesty's hand, and seeing Potemkin beside her person, departed immediately for Moscow.

The courtiers who were most observant of the Empress's conduct, were at a loss to divine which was the lover whom she preferred. They could not suppose that Potemkin would renounce his interest in her affections. They did not reflect, that love is silent in the presence of ambition.

Panin seemed more than ever sunk in his apathetic indolence. But the Empress left him in possession of his appointments; both on account of his long merited services, and the very powerful party with which he was connected. This party was desirous of seeing the Grand Duke lay claim to a throne, of which, by right, he was the lawful possessor. But the prudent moderation of the Prince, and his dutiful respect for his mother, checked every scheme of ambition. Catharine, however, sometimes mindful of what her son never intended, in the thought of what he might do, was not entirely free from alarm. Every person whom she thought capable of urging the Prince to great designs, was the object of her suspicion. But of those who could arm themselves in his behalf she was particularly apprehensive.

These apprehensions did not escape the ob-

servation of his Prussian Majesty. From the heart of Brandenburg he spied all that agitated the soul of Catharine ; and skilfully turned it to his own advantage. He knew that he alone could effectually support the Grand Duke in asserting his rights. Whenever, then, he wanted to bring the Empress over to his purposes, he never failed to express great anxiety about her son. The suspicions of Catharine were awakened, and, in order to preserve the friendship of Frederick, sacrifices seemed to cost her nothing.

The Grand Duke had a particular esteem for Count Andrew Razumoffsky. He engaged him in all his parties, and made him the confident of his bosom. The Empress, who well knew the daring spirit of Razumoffsky, was alarmed at this intimacy, and resolved to break it off. Razumoffsky himself soon furnished her with an opportunity. Catharine observed some signs of secret correspondence between him and the Grand Duchess. * She did not hesitate to suppose that Razumoffsky had presumed to form some rash designs upon the Princess ; with her suspicions she carefully made the Grand Duke acquainted. That Prince could not persuade himself that these suspicions had any real foundation : however, without withdrawing his favour from Count Razumoffsky, he resolved to keep an eye upon his actions ; and recommended to his consort the greatest reserve in her behaviour. Whether, in fact, the Grand Duchess already cherished an inclination for Razumoffsky, whether the restraints that were laid upon her, gave birth to this inclination—she corresponded with him in secret. It is said, she went farther ; she endeavoured to be revenged on her

* The Grand Duke's first consort.

who had rendered her virtue suspicious in the eyes of her husband ; and entered into political intrigues, which would necessarily displease the Empress. Whether these projects were real or fictitious, she had not time to put them in execution. She died in child-bed. Her death brought on Catharine an additional imputation of criminality. *

As soon as it was known that the Grand Duchess had expired, the Empress seemed overwhelmed with grief : she retired to Czarsko-Zelo, whither she took the Grand Duke. The Prince was penetrated with the deepest affliction. However, after his sorrow had a little subsided, he examined the papers of his deceased consort, and found among them some letters from Razumoffsky. These letters he immediately carried to his mother, and demanded vengeance on the man who had thus dared to violate her orders. The Empress, fearful of making this affair too much the subject of the city ; and, at the same time, wishing to spare the son of the Hetman, who had formerly been so instrumental to her service, yielded however to the Grand Duke's resentment. But, instead of banishing Razumoffsky to Siberia, she banished him to Venice, with the title of her Envoy Extraordinary. On Razumoffsky several distinguished embassies had been conferred. He perceived that this new mission covered a mark of disapprobation. He accepted the appointment without hesitation. At the expiration of some time Catharine named

* What served to accredit surmises was, that the midwife who attended the Grand Duchess in her accouchments very soon made a great fortune. She lived on a familiar footing with the Empress, and *thee'd* and *thou'd* Prince Potemkin, and Count Bezborodko, whom she entertained at her house!!

him her Minister at Naples. * He was there when the Grand Duke travelled into Italy : and it was noticed, that, on passing through Naples, the Prince forbade Count Razumoffsky † to appear in his presence.

A few days previous to the death of the Grand Duchess, Prince Henry of Prussia arrived at Petersburg. Frederick being informed that, while they were intent upon the demarcations of Poland, the commissioners of the co-partitioning powers were at variance with themselves as well as with the Poles, had requested that his brother might go and confer with her Imperial Majesty, and terminate the differences attempted to be raised between the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin. Prince Henry eagerly complied with that desire.

Prince Henry received the same honours as at his first coming to Russia. He entered the capital at a late hour. It was on Easter-eve. The Empress, ever careful to flatter the superstitious propensities of the multitude, spent the greater part of the night at chapel, with all her court. Prince Henry could not see her till the next day. He discoursed with her often in private on the obstacles that had sprung up in Poland ; and he found no difficulty in removing them. It was in one of these conversations, that Prince Henry suddenly replied to the Empress, who was starting some objections, ‘ Madam, I see one sure method of cutting short all difficulties. It may, perhaps, displease you on account of Poniatowsky : but you ought to give it your approbation ; for we may offer to that monarch a compensation

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky seemed to be born for pleasing Princesses : for it is asserted, that the Queen of Naples granted him particular favours.

† In the year 1781.

of greater value to him than the throne upon which he is continually tottering. The remainder of Poland must be partitioned.'

This idea pleased the ambitious Catharine; and the annihilation of Poland was finally decreed.

The obsequies of the Grand Duchess were scarcely ended, when the Empress turned her thoughts upon providing a second consort for her son. She told Prince Henry that she had cast her eyes on the Princess of Wurtemberg Stutgard, his niece, and that she was desirous of uniting her to the Grand Duke.

The Princess of Wurtemberg was already affianced to the hereditary Prince of Hesse Darmstadt. but Prince Henry judging that the empire of Russia must be of greater consideration to her than the Landgravate of Hesse, immediately occupied himself in disengaging her from the contract. He dispatched a courier to the King of Prussia, to inform him of her Imperial Majesty's intentions, and to ask his assent. Frederick made no hesitation. The union proposed by his brother was too favourable to the scheme of uniting in closer ties the bonds that subsisted between Russia and Prussia, to allow him a moment to hesitate whether he should aid in its accomplishment. He was acquainted with the passion inspired by the Princess of Wurtemberg in the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt's heart; but when political concerns were in question, what was love in the eyes of Frederick? He himself spoke to the young Prince; and so ably profited of his ascendancy over him, that the lover conceived it conformable to his duty, and honourable to his reputation, to make the sacrifice of his passion.

Sure of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt's com-

pliance, Frederick intimated the same to Prince Henry, and informed him that the relations of the Princess of Wurtemberg would by no means oppose the elevation of their daughter. He invited the Grand Duke to pay a visit to Berlin, because he was desirous, before any thing was brought to a conclusion, that the Prince should see the new spouse that was designed for him. He himself seized with pleasure this occasion of making a personal acquaintance with the Grand Duke.

Catharine, satisfied with all these arrangements, made considerable preparations for her son's departure with Prince Henry, on his return. She assigned 40,000 roubles for the journey of the Princess of Wurtemberg. She called Marshal Romanzoff to Petersburg, who resided in his government of the Ukraine, and charged him to accompany the Grand Duke to Berlin. 'It is only,' said she, 'to the friendship of Prince Henry, and to the zeal of the most illustrious supporter of my throne, that I can resolve to confide my son.'

The Grand Duke set out the first from Czar-sko zelo;* the next day Prince Henry took leave of the Empress. Whatever sentiments her Majesty might entertain, she seemed much affected at the departure of both. Scarcely had the travellers joined one another at Riga, before they received several letters from her. The following was written by her Majesty's own hand to Prince Henry.

'I take the liberty of transmitting to your Royal Highness the four letters of which I spoke to you, and of which you promised to take the

* Marshal Romanzoff, Count Nicholas Soltikoff, Prince Kourakin, and the Boyard Nariskin, accompanied him.

charge. The first is for the King your brother, and the others for the Princes and Princesses of Wurtemberg. I venture to request that, if my son should bestow his heart on the Princess Sophia, of which, to me, there is not a shadow of doubt, you will deliver the three latter as they are addressed, and support the contents of them with that persuasive eloquence with which God has endued you.

‘ The convincing and repeated proofs which you have given me of your friendship, the high esteem which I have conceived for your virtues, and the extent of the confidence with which you have inspired me, leave no doubt on my mind of the success of an affair which so much interests my feelings. Could I have placed it in better hands ?

‘ Your Royal Highness is assuredly a negotiator quite unique: let friendship plead an excuse for that expression. But I really think there never has been an example of an affair similar to this transacted as this is. Wherefore it is the production of friendship and confidence the most intimate.

‘ That Princess will be the pledge of its sincerity. I shall not behold her without recollecting in what manner this business was begun, carried on, and terminated, between the royal houses of Prussia and Russia. May it perpetuate the connections by which we are united !

‘ I conclude by thanking your Royal Highness most affectionately for all the care and all the trouble you have given yourself ; and I beseech you to be assured that my gratitude, my friendship, my esteem, the high consideration which I entertain for you, will terminate only with my life.

‘ CATHARINE.’

‘ Czarsko-zelo, June 11, 1776.’

After having halted for twenty-four hours at Riga, and seen the manœuvres of several regiments encamped at some distance from that place, the two Princes went on to Mittau, where they were received by the Duke of Courland.* This Duke was son of the famous Biron, who had just finished, in tranquillity, his long and tempestuous career. The Grand Duke received at Berlin the honours due to the heir of the Russian throne. Prince Henry presented him to the King; who waited for them at the entrance of his apartment. The Grand Duke accosted him in the following terms:

‘ Sir, the motives which bring me from the extremities of the north to these happy climes, are the desire of assuring your Majesty of the friendship which ought for ever to subsist between Russia and Prussia, and the eagerness to see a Princess destined to ascend the Czarish throne. By receiving her from your hands, I dare promise you that this Princess will be the more dear to myself, and to the nation over which she will reign. Lastly, I obtain that which I have long desired with ardour; I have the satisfaction of contemplating the greatest of heroes, the admiration of our age, and the astonishment of posterity.’

Frederick was in haste to reply: ‘ I am not deserving of such profusion of praise, my Prince. In me you behold only a poor grey-headed valedudinarian: but permit me to assure you that I think myself extremely happy in receiving within these walls the worthy heir of a powerful empire, the only son of my best friend, the great Catharine.’†

* The Duke Charles.

† In spite of this language, Frederick had written, and caused to be circulated in Berlin, an anonymous letter, in

The Prussian monarch then turning towards Marshal Romanzoff, added : ‘ Conqueror of the Ottomans, you are welcome ! I find a great resemblance between you and my General Winterfeldt.’*

‘ Sir,’ replied the Marshal, ‘ I should be flattered by resembling however imperfectly, a General who has so gloriously distinguished himself in Frederick’s service.’

‘ Ah !’ rejoined the King, ‘ you have much greater reason to be proud of the victories which will hand down your name to the latest posterity.’†

After a conversation of about half an hour with Frederick, the Grand Duke waited on the Queen, in whose apartments all the court were assembled. Here he saw the Princess of Wurtemberg. Their marriage was immediately contracted.

Entertainments multiplied upon each other, at Charlottenburg, at Potsdam, and at Sans-Souci. But that which must have supremely delighted Marshal Romanzoff, was the view of the exercises of the garrison of Potsdam. Frederick manœuvred his troops by square battalions, in

which he spoke of the foibles of the great Catharine with an accuracy so exact, that it had very much the air of a satire.

* General Winterfeldt was much beloved by the King of Prussia. It was he who saved the army which the Hereditary Prince, father of the late King, commanded in Lusatia, when he quarrelled with his brother.

† Frederick highly esteemed the brave Romanzoff. The compliments he paid him, remind us of what he said some years before to Field-marshal Razumoffsky, once a favourite of the Empress Elizabeth. Razumoffsky was present at a review before Frederick at Potsdam. That Prince asked him how he liked the evolutions ? Razumoffsky, rather embarrassed, answered, ‘ Sir, I am only a Civil General.’ ‘ Oh !’ replied Frederick, ‘ we know nothing of that here.’

imitation of the bloody battle of Kayal, where the Russians completely vanquished the Turks.

Prince Henry then conducted the Grand Duke to Rheinsburg, where he gave him an entertainment that lasted four days, and in which he displayed no less taste than sumptuous splendour.*

On quitting Rheinsburg, Paul Petrowitz returned to the capital of Russia †

It was not long before the Princess of Wurtemberg followed the Grand Duke. She embraced the Greek religion, and was married to him. ‡ Twenty years after their marriage, their Imperial Highnesses ascended together the throne of Russia ||

Catharine, having given a second consort to her son, extended the limits of her extensive empire, and extinguished the sparks of rebellion in the remote provinces ; seemed now to give herself up to the tranquil enjoyment of her power.

* At the departure of Prince Henry, the Empress gave him very magnificent presents ; as well as to all the persons of his suite.

† It is said that he received the following present from his Prussian Majesty. ' A dessert service, a coffee service, ten vases of china, of Berlin manufacture ; a ring, with the King's portrait set in a diamond, valued at 30,000 crowns ; a set of Prussian horses ; and four pieces of rich tapestry.'

‡ Of this marriage are born three Princes and five Princesses :

The Princes are,

1. Alexander Pawlowitz, born Dec. 12, 1777.
2. Constantine Pawlowitz, born April 27, 1779.
3. Nikolai Pawlowitz, born June 25, 1796.

The Princesses are,

1. Alexandra Pawlowna, born July 29, 1783.
2. Elena Pawlowna, born Dec. 13, 1785.
3. Maria Pawlowna, born Feb. 4, 1786.
4. Ekatarina Pawlowna, born May 10, 1788.
5. Anna Pawlowna, born Jan. 7, 1795.

|| On the death of Catharine II. which happened Nov. 17, 1796.

But repose could not inhabit her ambitious soul: pleasures arising from peaceful repose proved unsatisfactory to the restless genius of her bosom. Glory, or, perhaps, celebrity, which she often mistook for real fame, allured her still; and to the indulgence of this ambitious desire, she would have made any sacrifice. When her armies ceased to spread their victorious banners beyond the frontiers of her own dominions, fame must prepare for her another species of triumph. Europe resounded with the brilliant acts of her munificence: the encouragement she afforded to the promotion of arts and sciences; the rewards which she assigned to talents; her generous beneficence towards foreigners, and the numerous institutions which she established for the encouragement of industry and the augmentation of her national wealth, are sufficient proofs of a great and exalted mind. Literary hirelings, well paid for their flattery, emphatically related all these facts, of which the echoes of the gazettes multiplied the recital.

The Academy of Petersburg, which numbered among its members many celebrated men, but who were not less infected with the spirit of flattery, sometimes made the premature apotheosis of Catharine. When her Majesty absented herself from their sittings, they placed in the seat, that she would have occupied, a bust of her likeness, represented with the attributes of Minerva. It must, however, be confessed, that Catharine did not altogether resemble the chaste daughter of Jove.

Gregory Orloff, returned to court without having been recalled, seemed insensibly accustomed to behold Potemkin occupying the first place near Catharine's throne. Potemkin, proud of his influence, and more jealous of retaining an

absolute power than the love of the Empress, left her in the tranquil enjoyment of her inclination for Zawadoffsky. For a year and a half this latter had filled the place of subaltern favourite ; when, all at once, his ambition awoke. He had before his eyes the example of Potemkin. He imagined, that he might, like him, from the embraces of the Empress, slip into the post of Prime Minister. But in order to effect this, he must first displace Potemkin. He set about it with ardour. He endeavoured to render the despotism of Potemkin odious to the Sovereign. His efforts were seconded by discontented officers, by envious courtiers, and by artful women. Potemkin, informed of these intrigues, and in possession of greater abilities than his rival, resolved to crush him. Chance afforded him an almost immediate opportunity of gratifying his desire.

A young Servian, named Zoritz, an officer of hussars, came to Petersburg to ask promotion. His figure was tall and well proportioned, capable of attracting the notice of a voluptuous woman. Potemkin, who knew the inconstancy and ardour of Catharine's desires, gave Zoritz a Captain's commission, and placed him in her Majesty's way. She did not fail to notice him. Next day Zawadoffsky received his dismissal, and his place was supplied by Zoritz.

Zawadoffsky, who had already received many proofs of the Empress's bounty, had, at the instant of his departure, a gratification of 90,000 roubles, besides a pension of 4000, and a considerable landed estate.

Zoritz at the same time was put in possession of an estate valued at 120,000 roubles, together with the usual largesses. This new lover, destitute of education, without experience, could

give no umbrage to the haughty Potemkin. Subservient to the secret pleasures of his royal mistress, he remained content, and took no advantage of her favour beyond what arose from securing the influence of that man to whom he was indebted for the obligation. It was with Potemkin only that Catharine balanced the fates of Europe.

BOOK VII.ARGUMENT.

Relations between Russia and Denmark—Conduct of the Russian Ministers at Copenhagen—Reverses of Struensee's fortune—Character of Bernstorff—Cession of Schleswig—State of Sweden—Revolution of 1772—G. status III. visit to St. Petersburg—Hostile dispositions of the Turks—Treaty of Constantinople—Festivities—Disasters—Dismissal of the favourite Zoritz—Is succeeded by Rimsky Korzakoff.

FROM the time that Catharine II. ascended the ¹⁷⁷⁶ throne of Russia, the Court of Petersburg had not ceased to keep up a correspondence with that of Copenhagen, or rather to exercise its influence over Denmark. That influence, the work of Peter the Great. had experienced some interruption under his successors. * Catharine II. reinstated it in all its vigour. That Princess neither inherited the animosity nor formed such projects as Peter III. meditated against Denmark; she neither molested that power by her fleets nor attacked it by her armies; but she was artful enough to keep the court in tedious sus-

* For example, under Catharine the First, whose daughter had married the heir of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, long time at variance with the house of Oldenburg.

pence, floating between the hope of acquiring the total cession of Schleswig and the dread of witnessing a privation of that important possession.

The Court of Copenhagen was attached to that of Russia by another interest equally cogent. Her safety against the ambition of the Kings of Prussia and Sweden was insecure, but for the alliance of Russia; she accordingly made repeated efforts to contract the ties of that alliance in stricter bonds of amity. Under the administration of the Empress Elizabeth, it was a subject of notoriety, that presents were the medium for purchasing the good-will of the ministers and favourites of that Princess; sometimes pensions were even granted them.* Could she then prove less generous towards those of Catharine, or were they themselves become more difficult than the former? However this might be, as soon as the Empress thought herself established on her throne, she resolved to govern Denmark as she did the other northern powers, and no longer was careful about the means of continuing that friendship, which, hitherto, had mutually subsisted.

Her ungrateful return to Count Ranzau Alchberg, who was Minister from Denmark to Petersburg in 1762, was the first instance of this defection. Ranzau, when he saw the preparations made by Peter III. for the conquest of Holstein, attached himself to Catharine's party, and formed an intimate connection with Gregory Orloff. He became a tool to the Empress, who made use

* The Court of Denmark made considerable presents to the Schuwaloffs, to the Narischkins, and to several other courtiers. Pensions were conferred on the state-counsellors Wolkoff and Olzewieff.

of him in order to cast an odium on the warlike projects meditated by her husband, and Orloff admitted him into the secret conspiracy then on foot against that Prince. Flattered with this mark of confidence, Ranzau assisted Orloff with prudent advice, and seconded him with all his exertions. The conspiracy succeeded. Ranzau was at first favourably received by the Empress; but distant coolness, and even scornful disdain, presently succeeded to these first emotions of gratitude; and Ranzau, disgusted at the conduct of the Empress and her favourite, returned to Denmark.

Catharine, who doubtless felt a pleasure in humbling the Court of Copenhagen, appointed Count Saldern her Envoy Extraordinary to Denmark. Saldern, born in Holstein, of obscure parentage, at his first set-out in life filled an inferior post at Tritau, from which he was dismissed on account of some malversation; he afterwards sought to repair his fortune in Russia. Of a mind at once bold, and given to intrigue, he found out the means of introducing himself at Court: here he met with success. The Empress sent him to Copenhagen, where his behaviour was so insolent, that his extraction appeared in more lively colours; and the disgrace he suffered, on being dismissed from his former situation, was recollected with infamy. He addressed the Danish Monarch and his Ministers in a tone of forbidden arrogance. He pried into all the state affairs, and dictated with a menace the manner of their determination. It was Saldern, who, contrary to the opinion of the council and the wishes of the people, induced the King of Denmark to travel into France and England; a journey, of which the consequences have proved

so fatal to that weak Prince and his imprudent consort !

Saldern, not content with the intimate knowledge of all the state affairs, intermeddled with the King's domestic concerns, and directed his most trivial actions. He surrounded him with persons devoted to his interest, and on whom he placed a steady reliance: all who seemed adverse to his views, he removed from the Monarch's person. In fine, he exercised a despotism both arrogant and trifling. *

When the Empress recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, she supplied his place by Philosophoff, equally remarkable for a haughty spirit, jealous of maintaining the ascendancy of his own court. Philosophoff soon acquired in Denmark the same influence as his predecessor. This indeed was no difficult matter; the Monarch was weak, and his council was timid. The name of Holstein, from the tongue of the Russian Minister, was a charm that made every thing subservient to his wishes. We will here adduce, by way of confirmation, an instance of the inquisitorial authority which Philosophoff arrogated to himself.

The Count de Saint-Germain † was at the

* Madam de Pless, an amiable and sensible woman, was grand maitresse of the house of Queen Caroline Matilda, and at the same time her favourite. This lady, feeling indignant at the manner in which Saldern had subjugated the King, thought it her duty to make some remonstrances upon the subject to the Prince. The King was so weak as to mention the subject to Saldern; the latter immediately demanded the removal of Madame de Pless; and, in spite of the Queen's solicitations, Madame de Pless was dismissed.

† The same who had quitted France to serve in Denmark, and who afterwards returned to France, where he was appointed Minister at War.

head of the war department in Denmark. Being intimately connected with Count Gortz, a German officer of distinguished merit, with consent of his royal master, he offered him a commission in the Danish army: this came to the ears of Philosophoff, who, whether from personal pique to Count Gortz, or from motives of envy that an officer of merit should enter into the service of Denmark, immediately wrote to the King:—‘ I have just now learnt that you have offered a commission in your service to Count Gortz. I have orders from my Court to break off all communication with yours, and to quit Copenhagen, rather than permit a man of his intrigue and dangerous policy to remain with you ’ Nothing more was necessary to render the offers made to Count Gortz ineffectual.

However, the influence of Philosophoff diminished in proportion to the increase of that of Count Struensee; and it was not till the moment of the bloody catastrophe of the latter, that the Russian Minister regained his authority. Philosophoff at first ineffectually tried to remove Struensee from the Court. His aversion to him arose from a double motive. He knew that Struensee was in opposition to the Russian party; and he could not forget that through him he had lost the favour of one of the handsomest women in Copenhagen. Besides, Philosophoff supported the old Count Bernstorff,* devoted to Russia, and removed from the administration by Struensee.

* Uncle of the present Minister. Philosophoff had occasion to go and drink the waters of Pyrmont, but would not set out without having previously obtained from the King of Denmark a promise that he would not make any change in the administration of the foreign department during his absence. He departed. Bernstorff was immediately dismissed, and Ranzau Alchberg put in his place;—Ranzau Alchberg,

It is not our intent, in this place, to trace the meandrings of these intrigues. Struensee's lot is an affair of public notoriety: this man, from a physician, became the admirer of the young Queen Caroline Matilda, and afterwards Prime Minister; his pride and temerity created him enemies, who soon dragged him to the scaffold. * It is a fact well known that the Queen herself was imprisoned, excluded from the throne, and banished to Zell, where she died of the excess of grief. † The Russian Minister saw with pleasure the success of the conspiracy formed against Struensee and the young Queen; and he reaped the fruits of it. The Queen Dowager, Julia Maria, ‡ by whom the revolution was effected, held in her hands the reins of government. That Princess was far from being so devoted to Russia as the unhappy King in whose name she governed. But her sense pointed out the necessity of keeping upon good terms with Catharine and her intriguing Minister.

whom Catharine's ingratitude rendered the irreconcilable enemy of Russia.

* Frederick II. said, on being informed of the revolution of Denmark—'Struensee is a blockhead. A man ought never to form such intimate connections with Queens, unless they themselves reign, and when he is Generalissimo of their troops.'

† She died at the beginning of the year 1776. She gained the affection of the people of Zell, by employing in acts of beneficence the greater part of the moderate pension allowed her by the Court of Denmark. The day on which the news of that Princess's death reached Copenhagen, there was to have been a ball at Court. Endeavours were used to keep it a secret; but the tidings, that Caroline Matilda was no more, were soon spread abroad: that circumstance did not, however, prevent the ball taking place!

‡ Sister of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and the unhappy Duke Anthony Ulric, whom Catharine detained in prison at Kolmogory, near Archangel.

Ranzau was dismissed. His restless spirit gave the Queen, whom he had so faithfully served, great uneasiness. But, though she resolved to remove him because he was the object of her dread, she pretended to adopt this measure merely out of complaisance to the Court of Petersburg.

The old Count Bernstorff had now been dead some time. Philosophoff was desirous of seeing the nephew of that Minister fill the place, of which he had been deprived. He, doubtless, thought him worthy of it, from his attachment to Russia; the Danes thought him more so, from the ability he displayed in promoting the good of his country.

Bernstorff in person was elegant, his figure was noble. In his youth he was distinguished for his politeness, his modesty, the depth of his understanding, and his most persuasive eloquence. In proportion as he advanced in years, his excellent qualities acquired strength, and purchased the general esteem of his countrymen. Living at the Court, and indulging his propensity to the study of politics, he preserved in his manners and discourse an equal share of open simplicity. As a statesman, he possessed superior abilities; as a Minister, he faithfully kept his word. Diligent and indefatigable in business; his conception was ready, and his ideas happily expressed.* An enemy to flattery,

* Easy of access, communicative and affable, he frequently gave audience; and there was scarcely a private individual of moderate circumstances in Denmark whom he did not know, and to whom he himself was not personally known: nor was there ever seen in any country a man more generally beloved and esteemed. It is well known, that the emancipation of the Danish peasants was owing to him, as well as the abolition of the negro slave trade. A column, erected near

careless of pleasure; he evinced an uncommon presence of mind, and possessed a temper always equal; whatever he proposed he steadily kept in view. Nothing diverted his attention. Prosperity never swelled his pride; adversity never sunk his consequence. If success smiled upon his endeavours, he anticipated the recurrence of fresh obstacles; if he failed in his purpose, Fortune opened to him her numerous resources. His only defect was egotism, a too strong attachment to his own opinions, which he always defended with warmth. But this very defect tended to shew the independence of Bernstorff's mind, that was above deception. Sprung from a family of the Electorate of Hanover, Bernstorff entertained a strong predilection for the British nation. He also knew the respect to which the Court of Russia was entitled; notwithstanding this, his justice towards other powers was not less upright; zealous in promoting the interest of Denmark, he consecrated all his life * to procure her advantage.

Bernstorff had no sooner entered into the ministry, than, faithful to the maxims of his uncle, his whole attention was bent upon the cession of that part † of Holstein to which Russia had hitherto kept up her pretensions. He was not ignorant how far the corruption of the Russian Ministers was interested in keeping Denmark dependent on them; but it was in the very excess of that corruption that he descried the means of its emancipation. He knew, likewise, that the

Copenhagen, testifies to posterity the gratitude of the peasantry.

* Count Bernstorff died at Copenhagen, the 21st of June, 1797. Had he been still living, his encomium would not have appeared in this place.

† Schleswig.

pride of Catharine would with great difficulty submit to the abandonment of the smallest part of her dominions; that very pride he undertook to make subservient to the desired surrender. Philosophoff was first won over. Several persons, who filled the higher departments of government, favourites, secretaries, and mercenary hirelings, sold their speech or their silence. The rapacious Saldern, seduced by considerable bribes, hesitated not to hold a language at variance with his former sentiments, and took the negociation upon himself. He represented to the Empress that it was beneath her dignity to retain a weak principality by which she was made dependent on the German empire. Catharine's haughty spirit felt a sort of repugnance at this species of subjection; such language, the mere dictation of covetousness and self-interest, she attributed to a concern for her glory. By this motive she was induced to make a surrender of all her claims upon Holstein, the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which she resigned, at the same time, into the hands of the Prince-Bishop of Lubek: the treaty of exchange was signed at Kiel, the 16th of November, 1773.

This event occasioned the greatest joy at Copenhagen. The day on which the treaty had been signed was celebrated with pomp.* It was not the same at Petersburg. Catharine soon discovered that she had been the dupe of Bernstorff's artifice. Saldern, whose iniquity was easily

* Bernstorff received the most flattering testimonies of gratitude from his countrymen. The bounty of the court extended to the whole of his family. The widow of the elder Bernstorff, his uncle, was gratified; and received a letter from the King, with the portrait of that Prince, on a medal, round which was inscribed, 'In honour of the 16th of November, 1773.'

proved, fell into disgrace. But the Empress consoled herself for the loss of Holstein, by the assurance of preserving in Denmark an ally ever submissive, and ready to serve her against Sweden.

More nearly bordering on the confines of Russia, Sweden has alternately excited the dread and ambition of the Court of Petersburg. Peter the Great had resolved to annihilate that power; and the victories of Charles XII did not prevent his loss of four of its finest provinces.* The successors of that Prince inherited his projects; and the Russian nation preserves an implacable hatred against a people whom she at length has overcome; but who, in the purchase of her conquests, cost her torrents of blood. War on any pretence against Sweden cannot fail of being agreeable to that ferocious and vindictive nation. Every means of crushing her rivals must be eagerly cherished by the Court of Russia.

The Swedish nobility, divided into two factions, distinguished under the names of Caps and Hats, † has but too much contributed, by its dissensions, to augment the ambition of Russia. When, under the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, Count Panin was Minister from that Princess at Stockholm, the money that he strewed with profusion, and the connections which he formed, ‡ gave him an ascendancy, of which he dexterously made the instrument to oppose the Senate to the Court. The one he directed by his intrigues, the other he awed by playing on their fears. Count Ostermann has since imitated, and

* Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

† It is well known that the Hat-party has always been devoted to France, as the Cap-party to Russia.

‡ He was the acknowledged lover of the Countess of Lovénhielm, who had great influence in the cap-party.

even surpassed his model. More ardent, and less inactive than Panin, he kept Sweden in a sort of vassalage; and it may be affirmed that so long as Frederick Adolphus * lived, the Russian Minister directed the Court of Stockholm. The intention of this Minister was, doubtless, nothing less than to dispose Sweden to become a Russian province; but he flattered the nobles with the hope of making it a republic, under the protection of Russia; a project long since conceived both by them and my Lord Carteret, † the English Ambassador.

Upon his accession to the throne, Gustavus III. feeling his pride humbled by the influence of Russia, and the authority of the Senate at Stockholm, endeavoured to free himself from this double yoke.

The Cap-party that swayed the senate, had also the preponderance in the diet of 1772. Elated at the power which they had so often abused under Frederick Adolphus, † they resolved to extend its limits under his successor; and prescribed to that Monarch the form of an oath different from what was enacted by the fundamental laws of the state. Gustavus III. without reading, signed this formulary; thereby reserving to himself, without doubt, a pretext for dissolving an engagement which he was forced to contract. This Prince, whose confidence was

* He died in 1771, Gustavus III. succeeded him.

† Upwards of fifty years ago.

‡ This party, supported by Russia, had monopolized all the lucrative places and the posts of honour; it continually usurped the King's prerogatives, and even intermeddled in his domestic œconomy. Could one believe that it had the insolence to fix the quantity of wine that should be drunk at his table, and that it deprived him of the liberty of choosing his own confessor?

altogether placed in Counts Scheffer * and Salza, acted in concert with them and Count de Verghennes, the French Ambassador ; they conjointly drew up the plan of the revolution, which was shortly after carried into execution.

The diet almost immediately conceived suspicions of the young King's designs. The resort of some officers, once or twice in every week, at the house of General Ramsay, whom they knew to be devoted to the court interest, gave umbrage to this assembly : an order was issued by them, forbidding the regiment of guards to assemble for exercise, and even for parade.

Not satisfied with these precautions, the diet excluded from the senate all such members as were in opposition to the reigning faction. This act of revenge did but rally the zeal of the old partizans of the King, and gained him an accumulation of strength ; for several of the nobility, who were inimical to the royal authority, entertained less apprehensions from it than the tyranny of their rivals, which they detested. Of this number was Count Axel Fersen, celebrated for his eloquence and attachment to the ancient constitution : he loudly disapproved the innovations of the diet ; but, being disregarded by Gustavus, he retired from Stockholm. The senator Hermanson was less susceptible of neglect, or experienced a more gracious reception. His talents and his influence were necessary to further the views of his Majesty. These he dedicated to the Monarch's service. †

Gustavus, however, communicated to those

* Charles Scheffer.

† The senator Hermanson formed a constitution upon a new model ; Count Scheffer prepared another ; the King himself drew up a third.

persons, who were to execute the plan of his operations, such circumstances only as were necessary for them to know, in order to second him with effect. He first desired to secure the fidelity of the chiefs of the army. But the majority of them appeared to him too strongly attached to the old form of government, to admit of an open declaration of the change which he had intended. Colonel Sprengporten and Captain Hellechius were the only two on whom he thought he might depend. He then resolved to sound the alarm of a sham rebellion in two of the distant provinces, in order to draw off the attention of the diet to what was meditating in the capital.

Hellechius, whom the King afterwards promoted to the rank of General, and honoured by the appellation of Gustafschöld, * at that time commanded at Christianstadt, a city of Scania. He lived upon friendly terms with the officers of the garrison, liberally gave them frequent entertainments, and found no difficulty in making them promise to act in concert with him. They openly censured the decrees of the diet, and declared in favour of the royal prerogative. The inhabitants of Christianstadt expressed and adopted the same opinion. The report of these resolutions soon reached Stockholm. The diet was alarmed, and ordered Baron Rudbek, Governor of the capital, to go and put a stop to the murmurs of the Scanians.

In the Baron's absence, the command of Stockholm was entrusted to General Peschlin.† This

* In Swedish, *the shield of Gustavus*.

† General Peschlin has been surnamed the Wilkes of Sweden. But his resemblance to Wilkes was more conspicuous in his venality than in his talents. M. de Vergennes said of that General, that he had no other weakness than that of preferring imperials to louis-d'ors.

officer was so vigilant in the discharge of his duty, that, for some time, the friends of Gustavus were disconcerted. Every attempt to corrupt his integrity was tried in vain; he had already formed his resolution.

Fortunately for the King, Baron Rudbek came to resume his command. He reported to his friends, that the gates of Christianstadt were shut against him; and that Captain Hellechius had just published a manifesto against the power which had been arrogated by the senate. The reigning faction then resolved to discover whether Hellechius acted by the King's orders; assuredly promising, in that case, to seize upon the person of his Majesty.

Gustavus knew the art of dissimulation too well to suffer an easy developement of his sentiments. One while he answered with a firmness of mind, and at another with an air of indifference that deceived all the emissaries of the diet; and Baron Rudbek, who thought he had thoroughly sounded him, declared in public, 'that the royal personage was by no means dangerous.' However, the diet ordered the garrison of Stockholm to be augmented with regiments from Uplande and Sudermania.

It is certain, if these regiments had had time to enter into Stockholm, the revolution would not have been completed, and torrents of blood would have been spilt. The guards were already discontented that other troops were called to the capital; and that the inhabitants, who had all taken up arms, and were devoted to the King, would have joined the guards.

Every moment now was precious. Colonel Sprengporten, under orders to conduct the troops from Finland, whose arrival was to be considered as a signal to the King, had been de-

tained by contrary winds. He did not arrive, and the time was lost in dangerous expectation. Generals Salza, Scheffer, and Vergennes, held a council, and determined Gustavus to accelerate his enterprize.

The execution of it was fixed for the morrow. The very evening of that day on which the resolution was taken, his Majesty appeared at the opera,* in the midst of all the nobility. He gave a grand supper to the court; and appeared with unusual gaiety. He afterwards retired to his apartments, and spent a considerable part of the night in writing to his brothers and his friend.

After having finished these letters, he visited several of the corps-de garde,† as he had done several nights successively, in order to accustom the soldiers not to be surprised at seeing him at such an unseasonable hour. Having returned to the palace, he calmly went to bed, and rose at his usual time. He desired, in confidence, Count Levenhaupt, the Master of his horse, who came to receive his orders, to keep ready for him a greater number of horses than usual.

The senate assembled, according to custom, at ten in the morning. Half an hour after this, the soldiers who came to relieve the guard, advanced into the court-yard of the castle. They were no sooner entered, than the King descended, ordered the gates to be shut, and ad-

* The opera was *Thetis and Peleus*; the first that was played in the Swedish language.

† When he had entered the guard-house of the Admiralty, an officer slammed to the door with so much violence that the lock was put out of order, so that the door could not be opened again. The King was uneasy; but Captain Hanson, who commanded the post, struck the door with such violence as to break it in pieces.

dressed his guards in a very eloquent speech,* inviting them to deliver their country from the tyranny of a few factious nobles. He protested that absolute power was not the object of his ambition ; he required only sufficient authority to maintain order and execute the laws. This assurance, with the promise of suitable rewards to such as should second his undertaking, had all the desired effect. The guards replied by shouts of approbation. Gustavus immediately caused an oath to be administered to them ; and the officers were constrained to follow the example of the soldiers.

Relying on the fidelity of his troops, Gustavus commanded sentinels to be placed about the senate-hall, with orders to let no person go out. He himself repaired to the grand body of guards ; and, having called the officers together, he related to them, in presence of the soldiers, what had just passed at the castle ; and added, that he entertained no doubt of finding in them the same zeal as had marked the conduct of their brave comrades. All, with the exception of one only,† swore to maintain his cause.

Gustavus now wished to get possession of the arsenal. He called for his horses. Levenhaupt, who had them all in readiness, was preparing to conduct them to the King, when Baron Rudbek appeared at the door of the stables, and com-

* One thing that rendered Gustavus III. dear to the soldiers and the peasantry was, that, since Charles XII. he was the only King of Sweden who could speak the language of the country. He expressed himself with great elegance in that language ; and composed several plays in it, highly reputed by the nation.

† This was Baron Von Cederstrohm. He replied only by presenting his sword to the King : he was then committed to prison.

manded the groom to stop. 'I have no orders to receive from you,' replied Levenhaupt; 'get out of my way, or I will make the horses trample you under foot.' The Governor went directly to the secret committee of the diet, to lodge a complaint against Levenhaupt; and ordered the Secretary Ellers to minute down in his register what he should dictate. Ellers, who now began to suspect what was coming to pass, gravely looked at the Governor, and, instead of obeying him, shut up the register, observing, that he believed he had nothing more to write.

Gustavus next proceeded to the artillery-guard-house, where the oath was eagerly taken by the men. He invited the principal members of the diet to join him: and at the same time placed detachments of soldiers, with cannon, at every gate of the city, that none of the chiefs, whose opposition he had any reason to dread, might escape by flight. But in spite of these precautions, General Peschlin found means to get away.*

The remainder of the garrison of Stockholm joined the troops which Gustavus had collected about him. Several members of the diet also came over to the King. Baron Rudbek, and others of the most violent spirit, were arrested. The Duke of Hessenstein, to whom his party had promised the regency, refused to take the oath: but, as little danger was apprehended from him, he was suffered to remain at large on his parole.

* A young man, named Hierta, ran after, on purpose to stop him. But the General took him by the arm, and said to him with a sneer:—'My poor Hierta! a different Hierta from thee is necessary to oblige me to give up my arms!'—To understand this play upon the word, it must be observed, that in the Swedish language *hierta* signifies *heart*.

Those who espoused the King's party bound a white handkerchief round their left arm. The inhabitants of Stockholm immediately expressed their adherence to Gustavus by assuming this mark of affection, and the officers of the Swedish army wear it to this day. The assassin,* who afterwards killed his Sovereign, by a pistol-shot from behind, also villainously wore the handkerchief.

The people crowded about the King wherever he passed. His Majesty frequently stopped to harangue them, recommending order and moderation. His exhortations were not ineffectual.

As soon as Gustavus had made himself master of all the posts of the city, and assured himself of the adherence of the inhabitants and the soldiers, he assembled in his palace the members of the diet; and having reproached them with their spirit of dissension and ambitious vanity, he said: 'It is high time to rescue the Swedish people from servitude, and the throne from oppression. It is time to stop the current of corruption which dishonours the majority of those who sit in the diet and the senate. It is a well-known fact, that they are always ready to sacrifice the interests of their country to foreign gold. If any one of you can deny what I assert,' added he, rising from his seat, 'let him boldly stand forth, and contradict the assertion.' No one ventured to reply.

Gustavus then read the plan of the constitution which he himself had digested. He was heard with the most profound silence: and, when he had finished his lecture, he asked the opinion of the states, and invited them to deliver their sentiments freely, that he might be enabled

* Ankarström.

to correct whatever appeared defective in his plan. But no one presumed to bring forward his objections. Those who, in their hearts, mostly disapproved of the Monarch's conduct, were far from being willing to discover their opinions.

The new constitution was not adopted till the day following the revolution. Gustavus then dismissed the senators, who, for three days, had been confined to the hall, in which they were detained as prisoners. The greater part of them became members of the new senate.

All the officers who had joined the King's party were advanced one rank, and decorated with the military order. The principal inhabitants of Stockholm were presented with medals of gold or silver, and had the privilege of wearing them, fastened, by a white ribbon, to the button-hole. The subaltern officers also received medals, suspended to a blue ribbon. The soldiers were not forgotten: Gustavus, who was very ill provided with money,* gave them all that he had in his power to dispose of.

When the members of the opposite faction recovered from their first panic, they saw, with no less vexation than surprise, that the Monarch had obtained his victory over them by means very feeble. Must it not, indeed, have appeared exceedingly strange to them, that at the very moment when the diet, filled with enlightened understandings, had under its command all the forces of the kingdom, it should suffer its power to be wrested out of its hands by a young Prince, supported only by about three or four hundred

* The bankers of Stockholm refused any loan to his Majesty. An individual, named Peil, lent him all the money he had. Gustavus never forgot the obligation.

soldiers, and whom they regarded as a frivolous character?

He whose mind was most afflicted by the revolution was Count Ostermann, the Russian Minister. By it he lost a great part of his influence; but, in order to regain it, he assiduously encouraged the disaffected to rid themselves of the King's authority, to march off the regiments that had remained faithful to them, and to convoke a new diet in some distant province of the kingdom.

The turbulent chiefs of the Cap party were but too much disposed to adopt these inconsiderate measures. Gustavus was aware of their inclination, and therefore had recourse to artifice, in order to restrain his factious subjects. He caused a report to be circulated, that a body of troops, considerable in number, commanded by General Sprengporten, had just arrived within a few miles of Stockholm; and for several successive days he sent off boats laden with provisions for this fictitious army. At length the winds permitted Sprengporten to leave the coasts of Finland. He brought to Gustavus a detachment from the garrison of Sweaborg; but on his arrival he found every thing in perfect tranquillity at Stockholm.

The provinces soon followed the example of the capital. The regiment of Uplande, called by the diet, was ready to enter into Stockholm. General Ramsay went alone to meet it; and notwithstanding the resolute spirit evinced by several of the officers, prevailed upon the soldiers to take the oath of fidelity to the King * The Duke

* At first it was resolved to arrest General Ramsay: but an old and brave Ensign, named Normelin, much beloved by the soldiers, determined them to take the oath; and the officers were drawn in one after the other.

of Sudermania and the Duke of Ostrogothia, the King's brothers, had been dispatched to different parts of the kingdom, and without difficulty secured the troops in promoting the grand design. General Peschlin alone felt a degree of scrupulosity : he was arrested by the Major of his own regiment ; and the Duke of Ostrogothia received orders to send him prisoner to the castle of Gripsholm.*

The money that Gustavus received from France † added strength to his party, and diminished the influence of Russia, who did not fail, however, to distribute roubles among the creatures of her despotism. Catharine heard with sorrow of the change that had been brought about in a country, which, in order to subjugate it at one time or other, she continually divided. She ordered Count Ostermann to take every possible measure for the restoration of that government which Gustavus had overturned. The Minister went to work with intrepid audacity ; but his efforts proved ineffectual. Some explanations which he had with Gustavus terminated with asperity ; and at the commencement of 1776, Russia having fitted out an armament of gallies at Cronstadt, the alarm immediately spread to Stockholm.

Gustavus demanded the reason of this armament ? He received an answer by no means sa-

* He was confined in the same apartment that had served as prison to the ferocious Erick XIV. and on the floor of which is still visible the track worn by the steps of that unfortunate King, who incessantly walked from one corner of the room to the other.

† Hitherto the French Ministers in Sweden had expended considerable sums of money in what were called secret services. This money was afterwards given directly to the King.

tisfactory. The gallies did not act against Sweden; but the uneasiness of the King was not diminished. At length, desirous of knowing what were the real intentions of the Court of Russia, he resolved to go himself, and confer in person with the Empress Queen.

1777 He repaired to St. Petersburg,* under the name of the Count of Gothland, and accompanied by Count Ulrik Scheffer, Count Posse, Monck, with several others of his courtiers. Baron Nolken alone, his Ambassador at the Court of Russia, had been apprised of the voyage. Gustavus alighted at this Minister's hotel, and almost immediately made a visit to Count Panin.

The Empress was at Czarsko zelo. Gustavus repaired thither in the afternoon, and had an interview with her Majesty, in which they displayed a mutual cordiality, equally feigned on both sides.

Entertainments were lavished on the Swedish Monarch. The Empress was resolved to impress him with a high opinion of the magnificence and pleasures of her Court. She often discoursed with him, carefully studied his character; and, in a few days, perceived that temerity was his principal defect.

Proud of this discovery, Catharine directly proposed to reap advantage from it, by inciting Gustavus to embark in some dangerous enterprise. The qualities of his mind, more glaring than solid, his affability, the routine of pleasures with which he successively provided his Court, made him the object of his people's love, but the imprudence of one moment might render him odious. That moment the Empress accelerated in the following manner.

* He arrived there the 16th of June.

In conversation with Gustavus, her Majesty spoke of the obstacles frequently experienced by Sovereigns who wished to bring the civilization of their states to greater perfection, by introducing alterations of dress, by annihilating ridiculous customs, and by ameliorating the manners of a nation. She observed that the operation of these changes was not only difficult, but the thought of succeeding in too abrupt a manner, hazardous in the extreme. She said, with reason, that mankind, being in general the slaves of habit, were averse to innovations; and, to establish her opinion, she cited the example of Peter the Great, in the resistance experienced by that legislator, when he desired only to introduce among the Russians the custom of shaving their beards.

Gustavus replied, that if Sovereigns were unsuccessful in effecting desirable changes, the failure must, doubtless, be ascribed rather to themselves than the people over whom they govern: and that however these might be attached to certain habits, they would willingly sacrifice them to the Monarch who knew the art of making himself beloved. He remarked, that mankind were less tenacious of their habits than of their fortunes and their lives: but that they would, notwithstanding, frequently expose both, from a principle of attachment to their Sovereign — ‘But,’ added he, ‘in every undertaking, there is a proper season which must be watched with discretion. When we let that slip, our attention is to blame, and then the success falls short of expectation. There is likewise a certain manner in the execution of a design: that manner and that attention, so necessary for catching at decisive opportunities, were neglected by Peter the Great: this accounts for the difficulties which he

experienced, and of which the Empress has just made mention.'

Catharine adduced farther reasons in support of what she had asserted. She prolonged the discussion till Gustavus imagined his self love was interested in proving arguments by facts: and then she defied him to prevail on the Swedish nation to adopt a new manner of dress. *

The Monarch accepted the challenge: and some time after his return to Sweden, he introduced the theatrical dress that is still worn at the Court of Stockholm. He did not indeed enact a law, forcing the alteration. He was satisfied with addressing a letter to the Governors of the provinces, in which he recommended the use by no other methods than those of gentleness and persuasion. He artfully pretended, that the whimsical habit of his own invention resembled that of the ancient Swedes. At the same time he carefully proposed it only to the courtiers, to the public functionaries, to the military, and the burghers: the inferior class of the people were not even invited to wear it. † They have, however, in part adopted it.

The stay that Gustavus made at Petersburg by no means augmented his esteem for her Imperial Majesty, and confirmed in Catharine the desire of humbling so young and turbulent a rival.

For some years past it seemed fashionable to make a voyage to Petersburg. Soon after the departure of his Swedish Majesty, the Duchess of Kingston, celebrated for her beauty, her wit, her luxury, and the licentiousness of her in-

* Never was policy directed with so much art!

† This habit is no more scarcely worn except at court. While I remained at Stockholm, I seldom saw it used in private companies.

trigues. This lady thought herself a fit subject for the Court of Catharine; but the Empress either dreaded in her Grace a rival, whose indiscrete pretensions would render her importunate, or a confidant who would soon divulge her secrets. She received her, therefore, with cool reserve, and the disappointed Duchess set out for Italy, where she was sure of finding companions less haughty in their demeanour, and parasites more idolatrous of her charms.

Since the election of the Khan Sahim-Guerai, the disturbances of the Krimea had not ceased. The Turks, incensed at the flight of Dewlet, abandoned his cause, and exalted Selim-Guerai to his place. There were, at that time, two new Khans; one supported by the Turks, another by the Russians. The latter, whose intention it was to deliver the whole Krimea to the Khan under their protection, in order to facilitate their scheme of despoliation, furnished him with a guard composed of their own soldiers: the Tartars, jealous of this guard, massacred a part of them.

This was, doubtless, ample cause for blazing¹⁷⁷⁸ again the fuel of war. The Empress immediately dispatched fresh troops into the Krimea. Prince Prozoroffsky, by whom they were commanded, attacked the Tartars in opposition to Sahim-Guerai, and put them to the rout. His competitor, Selim, was obliged to flee to the mountains.

During this time Staschieff, Minister from Russia to Constantinople, solicited the Porte to acknowledge Sahim-Guerai; but the Porte, faithful to its engagements, and above all, to its pride, would support no cause but Selim's.

Marshal Romanzoff then announced to the

Divan, that the Krimea had placed itself under the protection of Russia, and that the Empress would have recourse to war rather than abandon Sahim-Guerai. So much hauteur was ill calculated to win the Porte's consent; it seemed to exasperate their enmity, and make them resolute upon the decision of the sword. But a foreign influence curbed their spirit of revenge.— A French Ambassador * had involved them in the preceding war: his successor † restrained them from entering upon this. When the Russian Minister was upon the point of quitting Constantinople, the greater part of the Ulemas and the Riglialis, who composed the Divan, discovered an aversion to the measure.

The Ministers of the other powers, at the same time, were warmly occupied in negotiating with the Divan; and that council wavered between the different impulses by which it was actuated. Witnessing the tardiness and indecision of the Turks, the Russians became more active and resolute in their projects. By bribery and promises they gained new adherents in the Krimea, and concluded by domineering over that country, while they talked of nothing but its independence. In preparing for war, they endeavoured, however, to prevent it. Marshal Romanzoff had an interview with the famous Capudan Pacha; but could hit upon no terms of accommodation. They parted with mutual dissatisfaction.

The Empress relied on assistance which she alone seemed capable of procuring. She had obtained from Kerim-Khan, the Regent of Persia, a promise of attacking the Turks in Asia, while she overwhelmed them in Europe; but

* M. de Vergennes.

† M. de Saint-Priest.

the death of that Prince, who was assassinated by one of his officers, saved the Ottoman empire from a double aggression.

Catharine was more successful in the measures she took for securing peace. The divisions that troubled Germany, on account of the succession of Bavaria, and the war which had just broke out between England and France, would not permit those powers to concern themselves, in any great degree, in the contests subsisting between the Turks and the Russians. Even those who had induced the former to take up arms, now advised them to lay them aside, and wished that Russia might be at liberty to make a common cause with them.

However, the Divan still continued undetermined. The people of Constantinople were clamorous for war: murmurs were heard against the Capudan Pacha because he returned to the Dardanelles without having fought the Russians.

Staschieff, the Russian Minister, was attacked at no great distance from Constantinople by two galiongs, * with intent to massacre him. The Capudan Pacha had them seized and strangled immediately: but their attempt sufficiently indicated the disposition of the multitude.

Much less could the Turks prevail on themselves to pardon Russia for her successes and her invasions, which incessantly reminded them of their numerous defeats and the humiliating peace they had been forced to sign. To behold the Russians riding triumphant in the Euxine, displaying their flag under the very walls of Constantinople, and daily extending their flourishing commerce, was a subject so grating to the feelings of the Turk, that custom could not recon-

* Turkish sailors.

cile him to its endurance. The independence of the Crimea filled him with sorrow : its subjugation to the Russian empire was a vital stab to their patience.

Other differences had arisen between the Court of Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte. By the last treaty of peace the Russians had procured several privileges for the Greek Christians dispersed in great numbers throughout Moldavia and Walachia. From that period several inhabitants of the opposite bank of the Danube, professing the Greek religion, abandoned their country for those provinces where toleration was permitted. All these Christians were much more attached to the power from which they derived the enjoyment of these new advantages, than to that by which they had so long been oppressed. Russia carried her views farther still : she secretly endeavoured to render them entirely independent on the Porte ; for the attainment of which she began, by insisting that the Princes or Governors* of Moldavia and Walachia should not be deposed on any pretence whatever.

This privilege of emancipation appeared in the eyes of the Turks as unjust as the cession of the Crimea. However, the first measures concerted by the French Ambassador had not been without effect. Those which followed were still more successful. He prevailed on the Divan to release several Russian vessels, upon which, for more than a year, an embargo had been laid in the Turkish harbours. Not long after a new treaty was signed † by his mediation.

1779 By this treaty, the Russians relinquished some
 { of their exaggerated claims in regard to the pro-

* They are called despots.

† The 21st of March, 1779.

vinces of Moldavia and Walachia, as well as of the Krimea, which they promised to evacuate. The Porte granted to those who professed the Greek religion the toleration for which they petitioned. The independence of the Krimea, and the sovereignty of Khan Sahim-Guerai, were acknowledged, and the privilege already granted the Russians of navigating in the Ottoman seas was farther extended.

The French Ambassador's zeal to accelerate the signature of this treaty was founded on the desire of his Court, in order to deprive Great Britain of the support of Russia. The attempt succeeded. The close alliance which had so long subsisted between the Courts of London and Petersburg, if not broken off, was at least greatly weakened; and the French were relieved from the anxiety of beholding that power, which was indebted to them for its tranquillity, risen in arms against them.

Catharine was so well satisfied with this peace, that she sent magnificent presents both to her Minister at Constantinople and to the French Ambassador. * She likewise sent to the Grand

* The Russian Minister, Staschieff, received a landed property with 1000 peasants. M. de Saint-Priest was decorated with the order of St. Andrew, of which he received the star wrought in diamonds. The Empress also sent him her portrait upon a box set with brilliants, as well as some furs of remarkable beauty, and a superb solitaire for Madame de Saint-Priest: the whole together was valued at 50,000 roubles. M. de Saint-Priest received, besides, three bills of exchange of at least 5,000 roubles each, and he has since had a pension allowed him of 6000 roubles. Being at Stockholm at the beginning of 1792, he advertised in the Gazette, for sale, diamonds, to the amount of 14,000 rix-dollars. Upon this, there immediately appeared bills stuck up in various parts of the city, announcing—'Political forfeits to be sold, to the value of 14,000 rix-dollars. Inquire of the Count de Saint-Priest.'

Signor and the favourite Sultana jewels to the amount of more than 300,000 roubles in value. The Grand Vizier and the principal members of the Divan also experienced ample proofs of her munificence and of that of Potemkin.*

What reasonable grounds had the Empress to felicitate herself on the accomplishment of a treaty which left her free to indulge, unmolested, her insatiable views of aggrandizement, and her vast schemes of extending the commerce of her wide dominions! The inequality of climate, the defect of population, and the sterility of a part of the soil, do not impede these countries from offering to commerce immense resources. Situated in Europe and Asia, the Russians have all the world to traffic with. The Caspian opens to them a communication with Persia and India; the Zabache, or the Sea of Azoff, and the Black Sea, or the Euxine, give them an opportunity of conveying the productions of the north into the Mediterranean, and of returning back with those of the Levant. Kamtschatka on one side discovers a way to America, and on the other to China and Japan. Lastly, the White Sea and the Baltic connect them with most of the European nations, to which their commerce is become an indispensable necessity. †

Having free navigation on many seas, and the exclusive dominion over some, Catharine could not suffer any other power to pretend to a right of empire in them: one of the causes that contributed to detach her from the English

* Potemkin, who had lately been created Prince of the Empire, wrote a letter of thanks to M. de Saint-Priest, and another to the Grand Vizier, to whom he also presented a watch studded with diamonds.

† It is well known that the maritime nations of Europe are indebted to Russia for masts, hemp, iron, &c. &c.

was, the jealousy with which they inspired her bosom, by attempting every where to force an acknowledgment of the superiority of the British flag.

The commerce, however, with the English was too advantageous to the Empress, to admit of a renunciation. She, at once, refused them assistance, and oppressed them with civilities. While she beheld the dismemberment of a part of her colonies, she invited the mother country to supply herself from the ports of Russia with such productions as she could no longer obtain from the continent of America; and felt a gratifying delight to see the British vessels annually, in greater numbers, arrive at Archangel.

At the same time, she welcomed the American traders, and, notwithstanding the solicitations of the British Minister, she assured to them the free navigation of the Baltic.

Some few years before, * she had concluded with the Court of Versailles a treaty, by virtue of which the establishment of a French factory at Archangel was permitted; but the French, whose commercial views extended almost entirely to the Antilles, derived no advantage from that treaty. Time may, perhaps, inform them, that the commerce of the north, less destructive than that of warmer climes, offers a lucrative gain, which, if not so brilliant, is at least of equal value, and more sure.

The number of grand entertainments given by the Empress at the commencement of this, and in the course of the preceding year; as well as an account of some other events, less important than those which have been already described,

* In 1766: the Marquis de Beausset was then Minister from France to St. Petersburg.

we passed over in silence. But these may still appear without seeming out of time or place.

The anniversary of the accession of her Imperial Majesty to the throne, and the birth-day of the Grand Duke,* were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and signalized by a numerous promotion of general officers.

Catharine also celebrated, with pomp, the festivals of her different orders of chivalry; and consented to discharge the functions of Grand Master of the order of the Bath, in order to confer the insignia of that order on Sir James Harris,† to whom they had been sent by his royal master, King George III.

After having struck him on the shoulder with a sword richly studded with diamonds, and said, conformably with the statutes of the order, ‘In the name of God, be a good and loyal Knight,’ she presented him with the sword, in the following address: ‘To testify my approbation of your meritorious conduct, I beg your acceptance of the sword with which I have conferred upon you the order of knighthood.’

Some few days before ‡ this ceremony took place an entertainment was given by her Majesty, in honour of the naval fight at Tschesmé, and the destruction of the Turkish fleet by fire.

Catharine seeing herself at the eve of a new war with the Turks, wished to animate, by her presence, the zeal of her sailors. She accordingly embarked in a yacht at Petershoff, and went on board the squadron on a cruize between Cronstadt and Kresna-Gorca. Admiral Barsch,

* The 9th July.

† Now Lord Malmesbury, lately sent to negotiate a peace with the French; but failed of success, on account of the imperious demands of the French Directory!

‡ On the feast of St. John.

the commander of this squadron, as well as his officers, received several marks of their Sovereign's approbation.

A conflagration had destroyed a great part of the city of Twer. The Empress granted to the inhabitants, whose houses had been consumed, an immediate relief of 100,000 roubles.

Petersburg, at this time, experienced a disaster, to the reparation of which the bounty of Catharine was inadequate. One of those who had contracted to farm the duties on brandy* was desirous of giving a feast to the inhabitants of the metropolis, in testimony of his gratitude for the wealth he acquired by their contributions. The provisions, the beer, the brandy, which he had served up, cost him 20,000 roubles. The

* A German author gives the following computation of the immense consumption of spirituous liquors in the north. It forms a considerable part of the internal commerce and revenues of Russia. This brandy is distinguished by three sorts; that distilled from corn, that of Dantzick, and those of France and Spain. The people of Russia use only the first sort. All the nobles have the right to distil; but they may not sell it. The Empress reserved that privilege to herself. The consumption of this brandy amounts to twelve millions of vedroes per annum, *i. e.* one hundred and fifty-six millions of pints, Paris measure. The Government ought to gain, by the sale of this quantity, twenty-four millions of roubles; but it gains in reality only five; that is to say: three arising from the governments of Petersburg and Moscow, and two from Siberia and the other provinces; the fraudulent contractors get the surplus. Foreigners, and the nobility, consume only the brandy of Dantzick, and those of France and Spain, which are preferred. The purchase-money for the contract of the latter, which expired in 1774, amounted 116,000 roubles. The contractor's profit amounted to 760,000 roubles. Their privilege allowed them to import only 10,000 ankers: but, instead of brandy, they procured spirits of wine, and mixed it with water. They moreover engaged merchants to import brandy; and the duties of entry which they received upon these importations have often arisen to 200,000 roubles.

populace flocked in crowds to the place where this enormous repast was given; and, in spite of the precautions that had been taken, disturbances soon arose among such a multitude of guests. They disputed about the provisions, and quarrelled about the beverage. Noise proceeded to blows. Several persons were killed; others became so intoxicated, that they fell asleep in the streets, and were frozen to death. Of those persons who lost their lives the number was computed at five hundred at least.

Notwithstanding these military and political embarrassments, Catharine's mind was ever occupied in peaceful institutions, and in the pursuit of pleasures. She founded, in the year 1764, a house of education, under the title of convent for female nobility,* and she assigned to its support the annual allowance of 80,000 roubles. The Empress had her noble pupils instructed in foreign languages, and made them represent French tragic and comic pieces. These plays for some time formed one of her chief amusements.

But there were others to which Catharine shewed a constant attachment. Though she frequently changed her lovers, her inclination to love was always prevalent. The Servian Zoritz had fixed it for a twelvemonth, had received considerable presents, and was promoted to the rank of Major-general. Potemkin was neither jealous of the fortune nor the favours enjoyed by Zoritz. On the contrary, he sup-

* Two hundred and fifty-two of these young ladies are the daughters of the nobility: but besides them there are citizens' daughters. The nobility are distinguished by the fineness of their stuff dress; the citizens by a coarser habit. The former receive lessons in history, geography, grammar, music, and dancing: the latter are taught to sew, to wash, and render themselves active in housewifery.

ported him in the possession, from the apprehension of some more dangerous successor. Catharine's satisfaction with her favourite seemed daily to increase: but all at once she ordered him to quit the Court.

Zoritz immediately ran and poured out his complaint to Potemkin, who ventured to ask the Empress for what reason she had discarded her friend? 'Yesterday I loved him, to-day I do not,' replied the Empress. 'Perhaps, if he were more informed, I might love him still. But his ignorance puts me to the blush. He can speak no language but the Russian. He must travel into France and England, to learn foreign languages.'

Potemkin respected the caprice of his royal mistress. Zoritz set out for France. *

The same day Potemkin, whose thoughts were engaged in looking out for a successor to Zoritz, as he was going to pass the evening at the hermitage, perceived, with astonishment, behind Catharine's chair a Chamberlain perfectly unknown to him. This was Rimsky Korzakoff. From the humble rank of Serjeant in the guards, Korzakoff had been suddenly raised to that of Aid-de-camp-general to the Empress, and honoured with all those marks of preference with which the generosity of that Princess usually loaded her favourites.

Korzakoff was endowed with a handsome figure; his person was very elegant; but his talents were obscure, his attainments none. He,

* Zoritz spent some time at Paris, in the hotel of M. Simolin, the Russian Ambassador. At present he lives at Tschkloff, a small town in White Russia, on the Dnieper; he has a private theatre, and lives at an enormous expence. With an income of 200,000 roubles annually, he is overwhelmed with debts.

no more than Zoritz, was capable of making attacks upon the influence of Potemkin. One single fact will sufficiently delineate his character. As soon as he had obtained the place of favourite, he thought that to a man like him a library was indispensably necessary. Accordingly, he sent for the principal bookseller in Peter-burg, and told him that he wanted books to put up in the house of Wasielitchikoff, of which the Empress had just made him a present.* The bookseller asked him what books he would please to have? 'You understand that better than I,' replied the favourite; 'it is your business. Let there be large books at the bottom, and smaller at the top: that is the way they stand in her Majesty's library.'†

* An account of the presents lavished by Catharine on her favourites will appear at the end of this volume.

† The bookseller sent him some old German commentators on the Bible, large folios on jurisprudence, with an edition of Voltaire's works, those of Rousseau and Buffon to be ready at hand, in case some visitor should ask for them.

BOOK VIII.

ARGUMENT.

The Russian armament—War between Prussia and Austria—Congress and peace of Teschen—Armed neutrality—The Empress takes a journey to Mohileff—Joseph II. visits Petersburg—Journey of the Hereditary Prince of Prussia to Petersburg—Dismissal of Korzakoff—Lanskoi becomes favourite—Travels of the Grand Duke into France and Italy—Of Bobrinsky—Invasion of the Crimea—Death of Count Panin and of Gregory Orloff.

TO have renewed peace with the Ottoman empire in 1779 was not enough. The Empress was irritated against Austria, whose Minister at Constantinople had in vain endeavoured to engage the Porte in a declaration of war against Russia. The moment of vengeance seemed now to approach.

The death * of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, had furnished the Court of Vienna with an opportunity of reviving its ancient claim to that electorate. The Elector-Palatine, Charles Theodore, who succeeded Maximilian Joseph, and wished to avoid a war, acknowledged the more than doubtful † rights of the house of Aus-

* The 30th of December, 1777.

† They pretended that Bavaria devolved to them as a lapsed fief, and as the succession of Albert of Austria. But

tria, consented * to permit Joseph II. and Maria Theresa to take possession of Bavaria ; the one, as Emperor of Germany ; the other, as Queen of Hungary.

The Duke of Deux-Ponts, who was the nearest relative to the Elector Charles Theodore, immediately protested against a treaty by which the rights of his house were injured. The Elector of Saxony likewise pretended to have an interest † in the succession of Maximilian Joseph; and lastly, the Duke of Mecklenburg claimed an expectative granted to his family upwards of three centuries since, ‡ but always evaded.

These three Princes united in soliciting the King of Prussia to defend their rights, or rather he himself secretly urged them to trust their cause into his hands. Irritated at the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, and seizing with ability all occasions of ensuring the elevation of his own, he wished to shew himself in the eyes of Europe as the prop of the liberty and the constitution of the Germanic empire. That Monarch, who had formerly ridiculed his being put under the ban of the empire, as Elector of Brandenburg, pretended that it was a mark of injustice to dispose of Bavaria without taking the advice of all the Electors, and declar-

in consequence of an Imperial sentence in the year 1429, Albert had solemnly renounced his claims ; and what is far more, that the reigning house of Austria is not descended from that Albert.

* By a convention signed at Vienna the 3d of January, 1778.

† The Elector of Saxony was son of the sister of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria. He demanded forty-seven millions of florins for his rights to the allodial succession of the Emperor Lewis.

‡ In the year 1502.

ed his resolution to maintain the Germanic constitution.

At first there was a long paper war carried on between Frederick and Joseph II. they afterwards came to more serious battles. Four hundred thousand men drew their swords; and blood began to flow in the summer of the year 1778.*

Catharine directly summoned Maria Theresa and Joseph II. to renounce the invasion of Bavaria, and to conclude a peace; at the same time she declared, 'that she felt interested in the tranquillity of Germany, both as Sovereign of an empire naturally allied to that part of Europe, and as having friendly connections with the majority of its Princes; but especially with him who saw himself obliged to take up arms in order to check the proceedings of the Court of Vienna.

'That without insisting on the political law of Germany, no other rule than that of natural equity should be her guide, added to the principles on which all society is founded. Influenced by these principles, she found that the whole empire was unjustly thrown into a state of agitation, because the house of Austria had revived claims which for several ages had been extinct and entirely forgotten in the Westphalia treaty of peace, a treaty that is the basis and bulwark of the Germanic constitution. That the infractions of the Court of Vienna exposed the whole empire to evident danger. That the fall of this empire would necessarily occasion a violent commotion in all the neighbouring states of Germany, a derangement of the order and equili-

* On July 14th, General Wurmser attacked the advanced posts of the Prussians at Naschodt.

brium of all Europe, and perhaps, eventually, prove dangerous to Russia itself. That it was the duty of every wise and prudent Sovereign to foresee and guard against such calamities; and that the Court of Russia, bearing this in view, could adopt no other principles than those whereby the Court of Vienna was influenced on similar occasions.

‘ That, in consequence of which, the Court of Russia invited the Empress Queen and the Emperor amicably to settle matters with the King of Prussia and the other Princes interested in the succession of Bavaria, conformably to the laws and constitution of the empire. Otherwise the Empress of Russia would be obliged seriously to regard the duty she owed to her empire, to the interests of those Princes who had solicited her friendship and assistance, especially to her obligations towards her allies; in a word, that the Russian troops would join those of his Prussian Majesty.’

Catharine might have put this threat into execution with the greatest ease: at that time she had in Poland three armies, one of which was 40,000 strong, commanded by Prince Repnin, and had already received orders to be prepared for marching at a moment’s warning.

The Court of Vienna anticipated the designs of Catharine. Before her declaration came to hand, a courier had been dispatched to invite her Imperial Majesty to act, in concert with the Court of France, as mediatrix of the differences sprung up between Austria and Prussia.

A congress was immediately assembled at Teschen. Prince Repnin, the General who had been destined to thunder vengeance from Catharine and Frederick, appeared there as a Minis-

ter of peace. Breteuil came in the name of France.* The house of Austria obtained that part of Bavaria which lies between the Danube, the Inn, and the Saltz; and peace was restored to Germany.†

But while the north of Europe recovered its tranquillity, the south still experienced the effects of the violent commotion, which, three years before, had proceeded from the northern parts of America. England, France, Spain, and Holland, were continually arming new squadrons, and dyed with blood the seas of the two worlds, in order to decide whether the Bostonians and Philadelphians should be free.

War, and especially a European maritime war, always adds fresh springs to the commerce of the north. From the north are obtained the greatest part of the commodities necessary for the construction and equipment of naval armaments; as well as supplies of corn, of which the consumption, on such occasions, becomes more considerable. The Dutch, long since monopolizing the trade of the Baltic, to avoid throwing the vessels, which they employed in it, into the hands of the English, navigated them under neutral Danish colours.‡ But to that flag little respect was paid by privateers; the ships that hoisted it were frequently anchored in the Thames, or Plymouth Sound. Those of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, experienced the same fate. The merchants of those towns, there-

* Counts Zinzendorff and Cobenzel attended in the names of the Emperor and the Empress-Queen; Baron Hertzberg, for the King of Prussia.

† The 13th of May.

‡ A single merchant at Copenhagen, named Konig, was proved to be proprietor of no less than six or seven hundred vessels.

fore, implored Catharine's protection; and, in order to purchase success with that Monarch, they artfully distributed money among her Ministers, to bribe their influence, by disposing her Majesty to regard them favourably.

But her own true interest had already decided her resolution. To extend and improve the trade of Russia was an object she ever had in view, and to give energy to its increasing activity, she had just abolished the extraordinary duties on grain, and permitted the exportation of it from Archangel to Riga. Besides, her pride was mortified to see that the English respected not the ships that were freighted in her ports, and that they even presumed sometimes to stop those which sailed under her flag.

Another motive completely determined her resolution to shelter with her protection the navigation of the north. Vergennes, whose intrigues at Constantinople had once excited Catharine's ire, lately acquired much consideration with her Imperial Majesty, by urging Saint-Priest to press upon the Turks a submission to the sacrifices exacted by Russia. Vergennes had by this means succeeded in depriving the English of the assistance of the Russian fleet. But this was not enough. He formed a plan of greater extent, and still more worthy of a real statesman. In fine, he sketched out the plan of the armed neutrality, to which almost every potentate in Europe successively acceded.

Well informed of the haughty spirit that inhabited the breast of Catharine, Vergennes knew how to interest her in the execution of his project. He employed the Ministers of Denmark and Sweden to suggest it to her Majesty. This they performed with so much address, that she hesitated not to adopt it; and she almost

persuaded herself, or at least seemed willing to persuade others, that it was a plan of her own invention.

From that period she resolved to use force for the protection of her ships ; and she proposed to the Court of Copenhagen, and to that of Stockholm, each of them to equip a squadron, which should unite with her's in defence of their neutrality.

The wishes of Denmark had anticipated this invitation. The prudent Minister * who directed the councils of that state, knew the important value of an alliance, without which the English would have ridiculed all the armaments of the north. He promised subscription to the treaty proposed by the Empress.

The Court of Sweden was less prompt in acceding to the request. She was restrained by France herself, who dexterously induced her to oppose some difficulties, merely to excite a removal of them by Russia. Previous to the armament of a combined fleet, Gustavus demanded an explanation of the manner in which this armament was to protect the commerce. He wished to know if each of the neutral powers was to defend the vessels of his allies, or only those of its own nation. He enquired, lastly, in what cases the neutral powers were to make reprisals upon those who were at war, and if the individual aggressions of these powers were to be necessarily seconded by the others engaged.

The Empress replied, that a preliminary convention should be made between all the neutral powers, in order to provide for the security of a free navigation to the merchantmen of those powers, provided that those ships were not la-

* Count Bernstorff.

den with contraband articles. She added, that it would be necessary that each power should extend its protection to the vessels of the rest; and that, as to reprisals or aggressions, they should be seconded, if practised under the conditions established by the confederate neutrality; but that, above all, this alliance should be maritime, and solely destined for the protection of commerce.

Satisfied with these explanations, Gustavus ordered his Minister at Petersburg to sign * the treaty of armed neutrality. The Court of Denmark had already done this some days before. †

Catharine did not wait for the accession of these two potentates previous to a notification of her resolution to the Courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. Her Ambassadors delivered a declaration, in which she complained, that the law of nations had been violated towards her subjects; that their commerce had been checked; their navigation interrupted; and that, to prevent such abuses in future, she was preparing to assert by force those rights which undoubtedly belonged to all neutral nations. ‡ The Cabinet

* The Plenipotentiary of Sweden signed the 21st of July.

† The Plenipotentiary of Denmark, on the 19th of July.

‡ The principal reclamations were thus specified: 1. That all neutral vessels may freely navigate from one port to another on the coasts of the nations at war. 2. That the effects of the belligerent powers shall be safe in all neutral vessels, prohibited goods excepted. 3. That the Empress understands, by prohibited goods, such as are specified in the articles x. and xi. of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligation in that respect to the other powers at war. 4. That by a port blockaded is to be understood a port so strictly watched by the ships of the powers which attack it, that to enter it would be attended with danger. 5. That these principles alone should be admitted as the rule whereby to decide the lawfulness of prizes.

of St. James eagerly replied, that, from the very commencement of the war, orders the most precise had been issued to all the commanders of its navy to respect the Russian flag. Notwithstanding this assurance the English continued still to capture the Russian ships, and submit the validity of their prizes to the decision of the British Court of Admiralty. The Empress refused to acknowledge that tribunal. The contest was beginning to wear a serious aspect, when the English put an end to the dispute by releasing the vessels detained.

The English Ambassador *at the Court of Petersburg exerted every nerve to break the league formed by the neutral powers, or at least to prevent Russia from granting protection to foreign vessels. He tried every resource to induce Potemkin † to prevail on her Imperial Majesty to alter her purpose; but his ascendancy over her mind was inferior to the calls of ambition: and the ingenuity of Sir James Harris was undermined by a stratagem singularly curious.

The Empress added, that in publishing these articles, she declared that to enforce their execution, and protect the honour of her flag, the safety of her commerce, and the navigation of her subjects, she would arm the greater part of her naval forces. That this measure should in no wise injure the neutrality, which she was disposed to observe as long as she should not be provoked and obliged to exceed the limits of a just moderation, and the most perfect impartiality. •

* Sir James Harris, now Lord Malmesbury; a more honourable man, and one more capable of a diplomatic capacity, does not exist.

† Potemkin had four nieces; their family name was Engelhard. The two elder, who had great influence over their uncle, and who were said to be his mistresses, are now married; one to Count Branitzky, Grand General of the Crown of Poland; the other to Count Skawronsky. The English Minister at that time lavished on them presents of every kind.

As soon as that Minister discovered their design to induce the Empress to propose the armed neutrality, he drew up a long memorial, counteracting the project; this he gave to Prince Potemkin, who promised to recommend it to his Sovereign's attention. Whether the British Minister felt a degree of vanity in what he had done, or whether Potemkin mentioned the circumstance, it soon reached the ears of the partizans of the neutrality. They immediately bribed a young female, of the name of Guibald, a girl of great audacity, and exceedingly shrewd, who attended the nieces of Prince Potemkin, and lived with him on terms of great familiarity. This girl, by stealth, took the paper out of his pocket. It was immediately commented upon with marginal notes, which victoriously answered all the objections of the British Minister; the writing was then as successfully returned to its place as it had been taken from it.

When the Empress had the memorial under her eyes, she supposed that the notes were added by Prince Potemkin; which was another incentive to the desire she had of uniting the powers of the north in a league against Great-Britain.

Sir James Harris soon learnt, with indignation, by what method his memorial was made to speak against itself; and it so hurt the honest sensibility of his mind, that he fell ill * in consequence of the imposition.

Potemkin all this while enjoyed supreme favour. Every day some new present from the Sovereign added to the heap of his immense riches; and some new title of honour was added to the long list of his dignities. The court, the

* It brought upon him a jaundice, which lasted for some time.

army, the navy, all were subject to his controul. He appointed the ministers, he named the generals, he exalted the favourites, or removed them at his pleasure; his benevolence, his animadversion, were under the direction of caprice.

With all the outward shew of rough and sometimes brutal frankness, Potemkin was an adept in art. He ruled over the Empress with magisterial sway, he dictated to her his will; but at the same time appeared to exist only to serve her. He treated with insolence the veteran generals and grandees of the empire, whom he thought he could with impunity offend; but kept on good terms with all those whom he knew possessed of spirit or intrepidity.

Marshal Romanzoff was the only General who would not humble himself before Potemkin, and the latter dreaded his inflexibility as much as he envied the glory of the conqueror of the Turks. The aversion that he entertained for Marshal Romanzoff extended even to Countess Bruce, his sister, one of Catharine's most intimate confidants. By living upon familiar terms with Countess Bruce, and professing great friendship for her, Potemkin kept a vigilant attention upon her conversation; he watched all her proceedings, and promised himself the destruction of her influence whenever an opportunity occurred. Chance suddenly threw one in his way.

Korzakoff was at that time beloved by her Majesty. The benefits, the honours, which she accumulated upon him demanded his gratitude, if they were insufficient to secure his love; but heedlessness and vanity were the characteristics of his mind.* Countess Bruce, who saw him

* Of all Catharine's favourites this was the most ostentatious in his dress; and to him his royal mistress gave the greatest quantity of diamonds.

daily with the Empress, felt an inclination towards him. But to this she could not immediately give the reins of indulgence. The constraint laid upon the favourites of Catharine seldom afforded them opportunities for being faithless. Potemkin assisted the Countess in overcoming all obstacles. He undertook himself to be her confidant; he furnished her with occasional secret interviews with Korzakoff; and, though his regard for this favourite was very apparent, yet he resolved to sacrifice him, in hopes of involving at the same time the sister of Romanzoff in his ruin.

Potemkin's project succeeded. The Empress saw ere long that she was deceived at once by her favourite and by her friend. She immediately ordered one to travel out of the empire; and the other to repair to Moscow. From that moment she resolved to dispense with a friend in future; but as she could not so easily live without a favourite, her choice was fixed that same day on Lanskoï, one of the Chevalier guards, * whose figure was elegant and interesting. We shall see, in the course of this work, that of all her lovers, Lanskoï was the man for whom Catharine entertained the most affection, and the one who most deserved her esteem.

Court intrigues did not occupy all Potemkin's attention. That ambitious favourite, flattering himself with the honour of having Catharine crowned at Constantinople, and still more desirous of it than herself, resolved to begin by taking possession of the Crimea. But, in order to effect his purpose he must act in concert with

* The *Chevalier guards* consist of a company of sixty men: their uniform is superbly elegant, and their duty is confined to the interior of the Imperial palace. They may be called the royal body guards.

the Emperor of Germany. He communicated his design to Catharine, who approved of it without hesitation. When he afterwards proposed it in the council, Count Panin, who valued much the alliance with Prussia, observed, that by detaching the country from that Potentate it would be exposed to great danger. Notwithstanding his objection, Potemkin's plan was adopted. Panin took this so much to heart that he fell sick, and retired from public business.

It was at this period that Bezborodko * became one of the council. Bezborodko had at first been Secretary to Marshal Romanzoff, with Zawadoffsky. Like Zawadoffsky, he afterwards became Secretary of her Imperial Majesty's cabinet: but he never, like him, filled the post of favourite. He was appointed Minister for the interior department. Count Ostermann, since his return from Sweden, filled the place of Vice-chancellor, † and executed all the business assigned to Panin's charge.

Catharine was desirous of an interview with Joseph II. the plans she was now about to adopt demanded a conference with him. She requested him therefore to join her in Poland, and she presently after departed for Mohiloff.

Perhaps it should not escape observation, that during her frequent journies, the Empress never confided to the Grand Duke either the government of the capital, or the administration of any public affairs. Born Generalissimo of the Russian armies, he never led a regiment to battle; and Grand Admiral of the Baltic, he was never once permitted to visit the fleet at Cronstadt.

* Bezborodko, in Russe, signifies *beardless*.

† There was no Chancellor in reality, because the old Count Woronzoff still retained that title.

Are these, then, proofs of that maternal affection so much and so often the boast of Catharine?

Panin, to whom the Empress commonly granted the dangerous honour of representing her person, had, for some time, retired to the country. More oppressed with vexation and disgust than bodily sickness, and shattered more by cares than age, he vegetated on the brink of his grave. Field-Marshal Alexander Michailowitch Gallitzin was at this time charged with the government of Petersburg.

The Empress reached Mohiloff, * whither the Emperor Joseph II. had preceded her arrival. A part of the grantees of Poland also repaired to that city. The pomp that surrounded Catharine, and the luxury of the Polish nobles, formed a whimsical contrast with the simplicity of manners and dress of the German Emperor. That Prince travelled under the assumed title of Count Falkenstein. He intreated the Empress to dispense with all vain etiquette and constraining ceremony: to which Catharine consented with pleasure.

They had several private conversations, in which they agreed to attack the Ottomans, to share a part of the spoils, and to re-establish the ancient Greek republics. In order to determine the Emperor to comply with her wishes, Catharine consented to favour the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, excepting the counties of Namur and Luxembourg; at the same time engaged herself to support him against the opposition of his Prussian Majesty and the other princes of the empire. A treaty, signed shortly after at Petersburg, confirmed these different stipulations. Catharine invited the Em-

* On the 30th of May.

peror to visit Russia; and that Prince, ever delighted with travelling, and always eagerly solicitous after information, took the route for Moscow, while the Empress returned directly to her capital.

Though Catharine was not ignorant of the Emperor's aversion to luxurious pomp, she gave him entertainments, however, uncommonly magnificent. But these entertainments attracted little of Joseph II's notice. His mind was engaged in visiting useful establishments and monuments of arts and sciences. He had seen at Moscow the Kremlin, the Khitaigorod, * the monasteries, † the library, and the archives of the history of the north; so well arranged by the learned Muller. He stopped at Tula, to examine the hardware manufactory, on which Catharine had spared no expence; and which, perhaps, yields not the palm for the beauty of its workmanship to the manufactories of England.

He likewise saw every curiosity in Petersburg, and the port of Cronstadt. He examined the arsenals with minute attention, the dock-yards, the manufactories, and every where received some flattering mark of the Empress's attention. When he visited the academy of sciences, he was presented with a volume of geographical charts, among which his journey from Vienna to Petersburg was already engraved. At the academy of arts he saw a collection of engravings, one of which was his own portrait, with

* The Khitaigorod, or the Chinese town, is a quarter of Moscow, where a great trade is carried on in furs and all sorts of merchandise. It resembles a continual fair.

† *Les hospices.*

an inscription * analogous to his taste for traveling, and the emulous curiosity of his own character.

At length Joseph II. quitted Russia, equally astonished at the mixture of refinement and barbarism which that nation had offered to his view; and the noble mind and weak propensities so prominent in the character of the Empress. He could not imagine that a woman, whose genius seemed formed by nature for subjugating the whole world, would, in the midst of her own Court, become the slave of two imperious favourites.

Some little time after the departure of Joseph II. the Hereditary † Prince of Prussia arrived at Petersburg. His stay there produced nothing remarkable. Numerous entertainments were, indeed, given him: but these were common at the Court of Russia.

Seeing that so many Princes quitted their dominions in order to visit foreign countries, the Empress resolved that the Grand Duke should likewise travel. Accustomed to the respect and the moderation of this Prince, she no longer entertained uncomfortable apprehensions from his absence; and she hoped that in contemplating the heir of her throne, the attention of Europe would be still fixed on herself. The Grand Duke and his consort travelled through Poland and Austria into Italy; from whence they returned to Petersburg by the way of France and Holland. During their journey, every event that happened to

* This was the passage:

— “Multorum providus urbes,
Et mores hominum inspexit.” HOR.

† Who now reigns under the name of Frederick William II.

them was scrupulously conveyed to the Empress. A courier, dispatched every day, informed her of their progress, and how they were employed. *

They doubtless were as eagerly desirous of ¹⁷⁸¹ knowing what passed at Petersburg; but Catharine was unwilling to indulge their curiosity. The Chamberlain Bibikoff, who ventured to disregard the will of his Sovereign, was very soon detected. His letters, addressed to Count Soltikoff, who accompanied the Prince, were very exact. They were intercepted at Riga; and Bibikoff was immediately condemned to do penance for his temerity in the wilds of Siberia.

The armed neutrality already covered the ocean with their flags; the Russian squadrons extended their cruises even to the Mediterranean Sea; and commerce was efficaciously protected in every quarter. The Dutch, who had hesitated about entering into the naval confederacy, soon repented of their scrupulosity. The Cabinet of London declared war against them. The Empress, however, did not abandon them. She recollected what a great resource they had afforded her in raising of loans, and what further aids she might draw from them still; she offered to mediate for them and England. The Dutch accepted the mediation with joy; England durst not refuse it: but the politics of the Cabinet of St. James, long jealous of the commerce of Holland, found means, without incurring the Empress's displeasure, to render her pacific intentions almost futile: the peace with Holland was the last concluded upon.

The Russians were at length accustomed to the yoke of Catharine: but she was, to many,

* Their travels took up fourteen months.

an object of detestation; and without involving themselves in vain conspiracies, they foolishly endeavoured to wound the Empress through the sides of the empire. To this fatal intention is ascribed the conflagrations that devastated the cities of Moscow and Petersburg. Moscow saw her famous Khitaigorod reduced to ashes, the loss of which was estimated at 3,000,000 of roubles! * Petersburg beheld, for three successive days, her grand warehouses on the Wassillioff, about two hundred houses, and several vessels, falling a prey to the devouring flames. Both of these fatal disasters cost the life of many individuals.

Another misfortune, which does not appear to be the effect of evil designs, but of mere ignorance, was the loss of a Russian ship of the line, which was dashed to pieces upon the rocks, just at the water's edge, near the isles of Hieres. In spite of all the pains taken by Peter I. and since by his successors, to form a good marine, Russia has still but very few officers capable of commanding a ship: without the Dutch, the Danes, and above all the English, her squadrons must confine themselves to the Baltic.

1782 Gregory and Alexis Orloff had long retired from Court. They suddenly made their appearance again, and found themselves almost strangers. Both of them were married,† and

* Some time before, the Opera-house at Moscow was burnt down; which being thronged with spectators, as it was the time of the *maslanitza*, or Russian carnival, the audience got out with great difficulty; several persons were either suffocated or burnt.

† Gregory Orloff had married his niece, the young Countess Zinowieff, Maid of Honour to the Empress. He had no children by his marriage. Alexis had only a daughter, who afterwards married the son of the Minister Panin.

were just returned from their travels in France and Italy. Gregory, unable to bear the sight of an all powerful rival, retired again without delay.

Bobrinsky at this time came to Petersburg. This darling son, the offspring of her Majesty's love with Gregory Orloff,* seemed destined to attain the first dignities of the empire. But the vicious habits that he contracted in his travels rendered useless the tenderness of his mother's affectionate regard, and the care which she had lavished on his education.

When Catharine saw Bobrinsky arrive at a proper age for making the tour of Europe, she had been anxious to consign the charge of his conduct to no one but a person distinguished for talents, learning, and experience; one who might be worthy of such a deposit. In order to find out a man of such a description, she applied to Count Betzkoi, Marshal of the Court, Director of the Imperial corps of cadets, and of flatterers the most assiduous to please. Betzkoi, whose thoughts were rivetted on the advancement of his family, taking for granted that the natural son of Catharine would necessarily insure the fortune of him who should be appointed his Governor, assured the Empress that Lieutenant Colonel Ribas, his son-in-law, was the only person capable of filling that office. The Empress believed him. Bobrinsky, at that time of a disposition, gentle, modest, and tractable, quitted Russia under the tutelage of Ribas, and returned home with that perversity and insolence of manners, with which the lessons and the

* Catharine had also a daughter by Gregory Orloff, who died young, or is living unacknowledged.

example of his vicious Governor could not fail of inspiring his youthful mind.*

Though afflicted at the deviations in Bobrinsky's conduct, the Empress long sheltered them under the warmth of parental affection. But feeling that the presence of this giddy boy too often covered her face with the confusion of a blush, she determined to banish him to Reval.

During her journey to Mohiloff, the Empress had observed that the people of White Russia, for the most part professing the Romish faith, were as strongly attached to that persuasion as they were to the Jesuits. Reflecting afterwards

* Ribas, who is since become Vice-admiral of the galley-fleet stationed at Nicolaef, on the Euxine, was born at Naples, of a Spanish family. His father's name was Boujon; he was a farrier at Barcelona. When the Spanish army marched into Italy in order to establish Don Carlos, Boujon rendered some trifling services to General De Los Rios, which attached the General to him. Upon his arrival at Naples, he sent for Ribas, and Los Rios, become Minister at War, employed him in his office. Young Ribas was made Sub-lieutenant in the regiment of Sania. An affair about passports and patents obliged him to quit Naples. He went to Leghorn, where the squadron, under command of Alexis Orloff, was then lying at anchor. The latter, who had reason to know his ignorance and want of principle, gave him a brevet of Lieutenant of one of the ships, and made use of him to open the stratagem whereby the unhappy daughter of Elizabeth was deceived. He afterwards sent him off to Petersburg, to announce the capture of the miserable victim.

Ribas, arrived at Petersburg, became an object of the affection of the daughter of Count Betzkoi; they were married. He was at the same time appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and co-adjutor to his father-in-law. After attending Bobrinsky through France and Italy, he was promoted to the ranks of Brigadier and Colonel of the carabineers. At the siege of Oczakoff, Prince Potemkin made him Commander in Chief of the squadron. Shortly after he commanded the galley-fleet on the Danube, and was made Vice-admiral. We may easily conceive what sort of a seaman he was. We have been a little circumstantial in this note, in order to shew by what means advancement was obtained at the Court of Catharine.

that no great danger could arise from permitting these monks to live in a corner of her vast dominions, whilst, on the contrary, it might prove advantageous to flatter the opinion of the inhabitants of her new provinces, she appointed Siencersterwitz, a native Pole, Catholic Archbishop of Mohiloff; to whom she gave a Jesuit, named Benislawski, for his coadjutor.

At the same time she permitted the establishment of a Jesuit's college, the President of which was Father Gabriel Denkiewitz, appointed Vicar-general of his order.

Benislawski was shortly after sent to Rome, in quality of Minister from the Court of Russia. On requesting from the Pope the establishment of this society of Jesuits, he delivered a letter to his Holiness from her Imperial Majesty; which letter, from a motive of respect to the Greek Christians, she disavowed in the Petersburg Gazette;* but which was not, on that account, the less written by her own hand. A few fragments of it I have added.

‘ I know that your Holiness is very much embarrassed; but fear ill accords with your character. Your dignity can never coincide with politics, when politics wound the cause of religion. The motives that induced me to grant my protection to the Jesuits are founded on reason and justice, as well as on the hope that they will prove useful to my dominions. That body of peaceable and innocent men shall live in my empire, because, of all the Catholic societies, it is the best qualified to instruct my subjects, and inspire them with the sentiments of humanity, and the true principles of the Christian religion.

* See the Petersburg Gazette of the 20th of April.

' I am resolved to support these priests against any potentate whatever ; and by so doing I only discharge my duty ; because I am their Sovereign, and regard them as my faithful, useful, and innocent subjects. I am the more desirous of seeing four of them invested with power to administer confirmation at Moscow and at Petersburg, as the two Catholic churches of those cities are committed to their care. Who knows whether Providence may not use these pious men as instruments to bring about that union, so long desired, between the Greek and Roman churches ? Your Holiness may banish every fear, for I will support, with all my power, the rights which you have received from Jesus Christ.'

The Ambassadors of France and Spain, amazed to see at Rome a Minister accredited by the Court of Russia, sought every means to discover the object of these negotiations. The Pope himself informed them, and asked them what answer he should return ? Each consulted his Court, who would have nothing to do in the business ; and the Roman Pontiff issued a brief, maintaining the society of the Jesuits in the dominions of her Imperial Majesty.

Perhaps Catharine did not think this brief a matter in itself of much importance ; but she flattered herself that, by it, the Jesuits of Europe and America might be induced to bring into White Russia their treasures and their industry. But, whatever expectations she had formed, the spoils of Paraguay never came to Mohiloff. The Jesuits were not so artless as to surrender themselves and their riches into the hands of a woman equally known to them for her despotic spirit and insatiable ambition.

The Empress at length completed the division

of her provinces,* all of which enjoyed the benefit of the regulations which she had begun to introduce, in 1776, in the governments of Twer and Smolensko. Each year of her reign was marked by an accumulation of territory and the establishment of some new institution.

This year was distinguished by the inauguration of the famous statue of Peter I. a piece of workmanship in which the genius of Stephen Falconet so happily seconded the intentions of Catharine. †

Some little time after this Catharine instituted ¹⁷⁸³ the order of St. Wolodimir, ‡ as a distinguished mark of approbation to such of her subjects as had faithfully served the country in any civil employment. She had already instituted the military order of St. George, of which the grand cordon is only given to Generals who have gained a battle. It must be confessed that the hope of obtaining this recompence has, in all probability, secured many a victory to Russia. Who knew better than Catharine the influence that the decorations of vanity have upon mankind?

Russia beheld the rapidity with which the advantages derived from her late conquests increased upon her. Her commerce on the Black Sea daily extended its progress. The Russian vessels passed the Dardanelles, and went to traffic at Aleppo, at Smyrna, and in the Italian

* See the letter on the governments in the first volume.

† It is well known that this statue has for its pedestal an enormous rock of granite, upon which the horse, mounted by Peter the Great, seems to dart forward. Upon the pedestal is affixed this inscription, in Russe and Latin:

‘*Petro Primo, Catharina Secunda. 1782.*’

‡ Saint Wolodimir was a Duke of Kiovia, who embraced Christianity in the seventh century.

ports. The delicious wines of Greece were imported into White Russia, and sent over all Poland.

On the banks of the Dnieper ten miles distant from Oczakoff, Catharine had recently laid the foundation of the city of Kerson, and Prince Potemkin accelerated the work with incredible activity. He was frequently seen to depart from Petersburg, fly to the banks of the Dnieper, * and again make his appearance on those of the Newa, † in less time than an ordinary man would think requisite to perform the journey to Moscow. Within the walls of Kerson 40,000 inhabitants had already settled. Not only vessels adapted for commerce were launched from its yards, but likewise ships of war destined to make the Ottoman empire tremble.

This advantage enlarged the ambition of the Empress and Potemkin. With equal ardour they anxiously looked forward to the conquest of a country, without which they could not flatter themselves with the hope of realizing their schemes against the Turkish empire, of which the possession would probably indemnify all expences consequent upon the failure of those schemes. Catharine began by detaching the Crimea from Turkey, and immediately resolved to invade it. The fertility of that country is still a doubtful assertion; but its resources for the support of armies, and the advantages it offers to com-

* Kerson, founded in 1778, is situated on the banks of the Dnieper, a little above the mouth of the Bogh, and neighbouring the Liman, a muddy lake, of which the entrance is guarded by the fortress of Kinburn, and is about a mile in extent. The Liman is sufficiently deep for the reception of large vessels; but it rots them soon, because the water is fresh.

† From Petersburg to Kerson is about 2,000 wersts.

merce, * are too notorious to be denied. So important was the Krimea in Catharine's estimation, that a short description of it may be here expected.

The Krimea is a narrow peninsula, of about 75 leagues in circumference, situated to the south of Petersburg, between 51 and 54 degrees longitude, and 46 degrees latitude. On the south and the west its banks are washed by the Euxine; on the east and north it is inclosed by the sea of Azoff and the Palus Mæotis. The isthmus which joins it to the continent, in breadth, is not above a league and a half. From this isthmus, upon which is built the fortress of Perekop, † as far as the hill Karasow-Bazar, the country is one vast plain, insensibly rising to the summit of the hill, which forms the southern coast.

The plain which extends from Perekop to the river Sargir is about 25 leagues in length. In it are contained a great number of morasses and lakes, which furnish the provinces adjacent to Russia, to the Krimea itself, to Natolia, and to Bessarabia, with salt.

So scarce is spring water that the whole plain may be nearly traversed without affording the traveller a sip from a running stream. The inhabitants of that part of the world are obliged to construct reservoirs, near each house, for the preservation of rain-water. The land is there destitute of every sort of trees. Not a bush, not a briar, is to be seen. The plants which the inhabitants cultivate are in a wretched condition.

* History informs us of what benefit it was to the ancient Greeks, and afterwards to the Genoese, who obtained possession of it in 1471, and were driven out of it by Khan Bangli-Guerai.

† The Tartars call it Or-kapi.

We must not, however, attribute this nakedness of the soil to barren sterility, but to the numerous flocks continually wandering about this part of the Krimea, which devour or destroy the vegetables it produces, at the very instant they begin to shoot forth.

The inclination of the Tartars for the nomadic life, and their aversion to agriculture, account for the desolation found in this country. But if these people could be once induced to make a division of the land between them, there would be sufficient pasturage, and the remainder would produce in abundance all the vegetables necessary to life. If one Tartar in a hundred would addict himself to the culture of the land, his labour would prove sufficient for the supply of the wants of his countrymen.

The Krimea may be divided into two parts; the *flat* and the *mountainous* country. The former, which extends from Perekop to Kosloff, and from the river Bulganak to Karasow-Bazar, to Kaffa, and to Jeni-Kalé, is strewn with a number of small villages, the inhabitants of which live upon the produce of their cattle, and the profits arising from salt. The mountains are to the south, by the side of the Euxine, and, in a right line, from Kaffa as far as the vicinity of Belbeck, extend to the west.

The two rivers of the Krimea, most considerable for note, are the Salgir and the Karasow; these fall into the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Zabache. The former takes its rise in the vicinity of Achmetsched, and the second near Karasow-Bazar; from whence, after having refreshed by its stream the adjacent plain, it flows into the Salgir. All the other rivers and streams which fall from the chain of mountains, beginning at Kaffa, take a north and north-east direction,

that excepted which flows from Mount Aktau, beyond Achmetsched. The other rivers, such as the Anna, the Katscha, the Belbeck, the Kasoulki, fall into the Euxine.

The mountains are covered with woods, and haunted by savage beasts. The soil of the valleys is fertile, and wants only the hand of the labourer to make it prolific.

Grain of every sort, with the vine, flourish upon the declivities. The mountains contain mines, which it is supposed are immensely rich; but the mountaineers despise these gifts of nature; with the produce of their flocks, and a little bread, the means for their subsistence is amply supplied. *

The isle of Taman, situate at the entrance of the straight which connects the sea of Azoff with the Euxine, is rich and very populous.

The Kuban, a wide and arid desert, which extends from the frontiers of the Krimea as far as the foot of Mount Caucasus, is, like the Lesser Tartary, but thinly populated.

These are the countries, of which, ever since the peace of Kainardgi, the Court of Petersburg has waited with impatience for the moment of obtaining possession.

The Empress had raised Sahim Guerai to the place of Khan, with no other motive than to

* The Mirzas or nobles, and in general all the opulent Tartars, reside continually in the country, and never frequent the towns but on matters of business. They have no courts of judicature in the country. Disputes among them are very rare, and whenever they do happen, they are decided on the spot by the authority of the Koran. Petty quarrels, that arise in the villages, and cannot be adjudged by the Koran, are amicably settled by the elders or abeses. But in the towns, all affairs of importance, cases of murder excepted, are brought before the Kaima-Khan, or Commandant, who pronounces without appeal.

make him the instrument of her ambition. She heaped upon him caresses and benefits, but to render him a more easy sacrifice. That Prince, in disposition mild but weak, frank, and liable to deception, was far from suspecting the designs of Russia. He was charmed with the novelties and the arts of Europe: his inclination was indulged; voluptuous pleasures and refinements of luxury were presented for his enjoyment. He presently beheld with disdain the manners of his own country. He laid aside his usual manner of eating, engaged a Russian cook, and had his repasts served up on plate. Instead of going on horseback, like the rest of his countrymen, he travelled and paraded about in a magnificent berlin. Forgetful of his independence, and degrading his dignity, he solicited a title in the Russian army; the Empress appointed him Commanding Officer of the Preobaginsky-guards; of which she sent him the uniform, with the collar of St. Anne. Wassilliesky and Constantinoff, Russian agents, invested with the title of Ministers Plenipotentiary, were by turns the counsellors of this too confident Prince; and those who contributed most to effect his ruin. The Tartars loudly condemned his manner of life, and his attachment to Russia; but, as he governed them with gentleness and equity, they attributed his deviations to the Christians rather than to himself.

The Russians, however, wanted a pretext for marching their troops into the Crimea. They endeavoured to foment a rebellion, that the Khan might implore their succour, and surrender himself entirely into their hands. Money, presents, counsels, secretly spread by their emissaries, soon raised him a host of enemies, among which were some even of his own family. Two

of his brothers, one of whom, named Batti-Guerai, Governor of the Kuban, made an attempt to surprise him in the city of Kaffa, * where he resided, and forced him to fly for refuge to Taganrog. A Russian army marched to his immediate relief. Potemkin flew thither himself, and his name alone was sufficient to strike terror into Batti-Guerai, who sent to inform him that he voluntarily divested himself of the power which he had usurped.

The Khan, Sahim-Guerai, then entered again the Krimea; and, having called together the greater part of the Tartar chiefs, he delivered up to them thirteen of the principal rebels, who were instantly put to death. He then said, ' You behold my two brothers and myself, which of us will you have to govern you? Name him freely. I will subscribe to your choice.' All the Tartars swore that they would have none but Sahim-Guerai.

This arrangement was not, perhaps, quite agreeable to the Court of Petersburg; but, whatever step the Tartars might have taken, its resolution was already made; the Krimea was to be invaded.

The Empress immediately reinforced her armies in Poland and the Ukraine; and made every previous effort that a declaration of war required. She then charged her Minister at Constantinople to demand far more extensive advantages than those which had been stipulated by the treaties; and to bind the Divan under a promise, whatever might hereafter be the fate of the Krimea, not to interfere. She did more: she engaged the imprudent Sahim-Guerai to demand the cession of Oczakoff.

* The ancient Theodosia, or the Cimmerium of antiquity.

The Divan was justly incensed at all these pretensions: but, feeble and disunited, they feigned a desire of war; yet murmured, instead of having recourse to arms. They, however, sent a Pacha to take possession of the isle of Taman. Sahim Guerai, urged on by the Russians, summoned the Pacha to retire. Instead of obeying, the irritated Pacha ordered the Khan's Envoy to be beheaded. The Russians, under pretence of avenging the affront offered the Prince, requested of him a passage for their troops to attack the Turks: but, they had no sooner entered his dominions, than, instead of proceeding against Taman, they fell back, and spread over all the peninsula, of which they easily possessed themselves. General Balmain surprised the town of Kaffa, where the Khan resided, and forced the Imans, the Myrzas, and the other principal Tartars, to take the oath of allegiance to the Empress.

While these things were transacting General Souwaroff was employed in subduing the Tartars of the Kuban and the Budziak. Prince Potemkin, who had advanced to the other side of the Kuban, received the homage of Sultan Batti-Guerai and the hordes that roam about those extensive countries.

The Russians continued for some time to flatter the Khan, and promised him a pension of 800,000 roubles. But the Prince and his country did not the less remain under the yoke.

Though this invasion, executed in violation of every principle of national justice, and sheltered under the sanction of avenging the law of right, and protecting the sacred cause of friendship, did not rouse even Ottoman indolence to arms; Catharine, however, published a manifesto, justifying, in the eyes of Europe, the spoliation of

the unfortunate Sahim-Guerai, and accusing the Turks of having broken the treaty of Kainardgi, which she herself alone had just infringed with audacious perfidy.

This manifesto is too curious to be entirely omitted. Here are some of the fragments: 'Our late war against the Ottoman empire,' says the Empress, 'having been followed by the most signal success, we certainly acquired the right of uniting the Krimea to our dominions. But we hesitated not to sacrifice both this, and many other conquests, to an ardent desire for restoring public tranquillity, and establishing a good understanding and friendship between our Court and the Ottoman Porte. This was the motive which determined us to stipulate for the liberty and independence of the Tartars, whom our arms had subdued; hoping by this means entirely to supersede all future dissension and indifference between Russia and the Porte.

However great our sacrifices, however strenuous our efforts have been to realize our hopes, we soon saw, to our sincere regret, those expectations diminish. The natural inquietude of the Tartars, fomented by insinuations of which the source is not unknown to us, has been the cause of their falling so easily into a snare, spread by hands which had sown among them discord and division; so that we have seen them endeavouring to weaken and ruin the edifice raised by our beneficent care for their happiness, by procuring to them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themselves. The love of peace has, in our conduct, afforded ample reward for the great expences incurred by us in order to make it complete. But we have soon been undeceived by the revolt which happened in the Krimea last year, and the en-

couragement which it met with from the same quarter as in former years. In consequence of this we have been forced to have recourse to considerable armaments, and we have introduced our troops into the Krimea and the Kuban, where their presence was become indispensably necessary, for the maintenance of tranquillity and good order in the neighbouring states.—The necessity to which we are reduced of keeping up an armament, not only lay us under great expences, but exposes our troops to inevitable and unceasing fatigues.

‘ The loss of men cannot be appreciated; and we will not undertake the estimation. But the loss in money, according to the most economic calculation, amounts to more than 12,000,000 of roubles.

‘ Animated by a sincere desire of confirming and perpetuating the late peace concluded with the Porte, by preventing continual disputes produced by the affairs of the Krimea, we believe it to be a duty incumbent on ourselves, and consistent with the future safety of our empire, that we undertake, once for all, the firm resolution of terminating the troubles of the Krimea. We, therefore, unite to our dominions the peninsula of Krimea, the isle of Taman, and the whole of Kuban, as a just indemnity for the losses sustained by us, and the expences which we have incurred in the maintenance of peace and happiness.’

At the close of her manifesto, the Empress promised the Tartars a free toleration of their religion, and invited them to imitate the submission, the zeal, and the fidelity of that people who had now for some time enjoyed the blessing of living under her auspicious government.

The Porte, not much versed in the art of

reasoning, was, however, determined to answer this manifesto: recourse was had, for this purpose, to a Christian pen,* whereby Catharine's iniquitous pretensions, and the glaring perfidy of her conduct, were depicted in the strongest terms. But of what avail are writings of this kind? The causes of Sovereigns are not effectually pleaded but by the sword alone! and this the Turks were, for a long time, afraid to use, or used it to no other purpose than their own detriment, against the Russians.

Not doubting of the Porte's intention to declare war against her, and apprehensive lest Gustavus III. taking advantage of the absence of the Russian armies, should attack her in that quarter, Catharine formed the design of concluding a new treaty of alliance with that Prince. She had already proposed it to him several times, both by his Minister at Petersburg, and by her own, whom she kept at the Court of Stockholm; but her attempts were ineffectual. She resolved on a second interview with the Swedish Monarch.

The place of meeting was Fredericksham, a small town, very well fortified, on the gulph of Finland, and the last possessed by the Russians on this side Sweden. Thither the Empress repaired † in a yacht. She was accompanied by Count Iwan Czernischeff, the Minister Bezborodko, Narischkin, the Grand Equerry, the favourite Lanskoi, and several ladies of the Court; among whom was Princess Daschkoff, who for some time past had seemed to have regained the friendship of Catharine.

* The manifesto of the Porte was ascribed to Sir Robert Ainsley, the English Minister at Constantinople.

† The 29th of June.

Gustavus * had in his suite Count Creutz, † his first Minister, General Armfeldt, Monck, and some other officers.

The Empress had caused two houses adjoining to each other to be hired, which were furnished with great elegance, and between which a gallery of communication was constructed. One of these she occupied herself, in the other the King of Sweden was quartered; so that during the four days that these two Sovereigns remained at Fredericksham, they might freely discourse together, at any time, ‡ without interruption.

The peace had been signed some months before. || There was no longer any reason for keeping up an armament among the neutrality in the north; yet the Empress was desirous of it, and Gustavus consented. She afterwards proposed that his Majesty should remain neuter during the war with the Turks; and assured him, that upon the termination of it she would assist him in gaining possession of Norway. Flattered with this expectation, Gustavus promised compliance with all that Catharine required; and they parted mutually satisfied; their minds filled with different schemes of conquest.

Before she quitted Fredericksham, the Empress gave her portrait to Count Creutz, and signalized

* A few days only previous to this meeting, being at a review, he broke his arm by a fall from his horse.

† The same who had been Ambassador in Spain and in France.

‡ The Empress, who lavished her fine speeches on the Swedish Monarch, engaged Hoyer, a Danish artist, to paint a picture, in which that Princess and Augustus III. are represented sitting and conversing amicably together. The author of this history saw the original of this picture in the cabinet of the King of Sweden at Droningsholm; he likewise saw a copy of it at the painter Hoyer's house at Copenhagen.

|| In the month of January.

her magnificence towards the Swedish officers. Gustavus also made divers presents to the Russian Ministers. He conferred on the favourite Lanskoi the order of the Pole Star; and, as soon as he reached Sweden, he sent to Princess Daschkoff a diploma of member of the academy of Stockholm.

The Porte was so much the less eager to make war, as the preparations of the Russians seemed infallibly to insure them victory. Seventy thousand men, under the orders of Prince Potemkin, were assembled on the frontiers of the Krimea. Prince Repnin led on 40,000, in readiness to support the former. Marshal Romanzoff, with a third army, had his head quarters at Kioff. The squadrons of the Black Sea were armed; and ten sail of the line, with several frigates, only waited a signal to proceed from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

The Court of London, irritated that Russia¹⁷⁸⁴ appeared at the head of the armed neutrality, endeavoured, but in vain, to press upon the Divan the necessity of having recourse to arms: this was prevented by France and Austria. Instead of fighting, a negociation was set on foot. By a new treaty, signed at Constantinople, between the Russian Plenipotentiary Bulgakoff and the Ministers of the Grand Signor, the Empress retained the sovereignty of the Krimea, of the isle of Taman, and a great part of the Kuban. The Turks likewise acknowledged the right to which she pretended incontestible feasibility,—the dominion of the Euxine and the passage of the Dardanelles. Thus Catharine became possessed of a vast territory, and 1,500,000 new subjects, without having recourse to war.

The Empress restored their ancient names to the Krimea and the Kuban. The former of

these countries was called Taurida, and the other Caucasus.

The example of Sahim-Guerai might have taught the other Princes to beware of the cruel protection of Russia; but presents from Potemkin blinded some of them. Heraclius, Sovereign of Kertalinia and Kachett, who had formerly borne arms under the famous Thamas Kouli-Khan, and fought in the last contest between the Russians and Turks, did homage to Catharine for his dominions.

Solomon, Sultan of Irimettia and Georgia, was also pursued by the wheedling intrigues and the treacherous generosity of the Empress and her favourite. Haughty and magnanimous, he, at first, resolved to depend on his scymetar alone; but a globe of gold, a crown, and splendid promises, purchased his liberty. He died shortly after this; and Sultan David, his son, imitated him only in his weakness.

Potemkin did not invade the country of the Zaporavians; but, always joining artifice with force, he carried off 60,000 of these Cosaks, and brought them into the Krimea, where he founded those colonies which now furnish mariners to the squadrons of the Euxine, but especially to the galley-fleet of Nicolaeff.

With the extension of his Sovereign's empire, Prince Potemkin neglected not his personal interests. Proprietor of immense estates in different provinces of Russia, he acquired also a great part of the rich domains possessed by the Princes Lubomirsky and Sapieha, in Podolia and Lithuania. His enemies thought that he was preparing for himself a retreat into Poland: but, whatever his views might have been, never did his favour appear so well established, never had he been attached to Russia by so many titles

and employments. The Empress honoured him with the appellation of Tauryezewsky,* gave him the government of Taurida, with the rank of Grand Admiral of the Euxine.†

In proportion as the number of those diminished who had long been in her service, Catharine, doubtless, should have better felt the value of them. She, at this period, lost the two principal chiefs of that conspiracy by which she was placed on the throne—Count Panin and Prince Gregory Orloff. They died almost at the same time; one at Petersburg, the other at Moscow.

Envy and vexation, fatal maladies, from which discarded Ministers seldom escape, terminated the career of Panin. From the moment that Potemkin opposed him in the council, and removed him from the executive government, he ceased not to languish, and knew no pleasure but the expectation of death.

The close of Prince Gregory Orloff's life was still more frightful. Though loaded with benefits, profusely heaped upon him by his Royal Mistress, and in the possession of a wife in whom beauty and youth were eminently combined, the presence of the new favourites was an insupportable bar to all his happiness. He passed almost all the latter years of his life in travelling. In 1782 he stopped at Lausanne, where his wife died. This loss plunged him into a deep melancholy. He immediately returned to Court, but it was only to discover the sad spectacle of his insanity. Sometimes the victim

* The Taurian.

† It is said that she likewise built for him, in Petersburg, a magnificent palace, which bears the name of *Tauryezewsky*.

of extravagant joy,* he raised the courtiers' smile; at others, venting such reproaches against the Empress, that all who heard him trembled with amazement, and plunged the Queen herself into the bitterness of disquietude and the depth of remorse. At length he was forced to retire to Moscow. There the horrors of guilt haunted him with double fury! there the bleeding shade of Peter III. pursued his steps! there he incessantly beheld it ready to pierce his obdurate heart! and there he expired in the agonies of despair!†

In the first dawn of his favour, Gregory Orloff had received from the Empress a medallion

* When Gregory Orloff was all powerful at Court, he frequently called Catharine by the diminutive of her name, *Kattinka* or *Katouschka*. On his return from his first travels, he retained that habit. He had brought with him from Holland a sort of doctor, or rather a buffoon, named Janijossy, who took the same liberty: The Empress was at times subject to hysterical fits, of which this physician pretended to cure her; and when he found the Empress in her dull humour, he would say, "Kattinka, we must be cheerful in order to be well, and we must walk in order to be cheerful."—Then, giving her his arm, he walked with her about the gardens of the palace.

† In the month of April, 1783. Could Catharine be a calm spectator of this assassin's torment? No; her guilty conscience must have given her pangs of which no affected joy could heal the smart; and well did she deserve to be tormented. Gracious God! the remembrance of the injuries accumulated upon the head of the unfortunate Peter III. by a woman, all of whose splendid actions, when she became sole mistress of the empire, will not compensate for, much less efface the recollection of her conduct towards her weak but innocent husband. What must have accompanied the ideas of Catharine and her brutal accomplices in murder, injustice, and wrongs,—the Orloffs and Baratinsky,—when they, in the calm silence of reflection, turned on a future state?

'The dread of something after death!'

Upon the death of Catharine Alexis Orloff resided at Moscow. His present Imperial Majesty, Paul I. much to the honour of his sensible mind, ordered the villain to quit Russia.

"*Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum!*"

surrounded with brilliants, which evinced the portrait of that Princess ; this he wore at his button-hole. After the death of Gregory Wodimer, Orloff came to Petersburg to present this miniature to the Sovereign, who returned it, and bade him give it to his brother Alexis, whom she permitted to wear it. But was not this an awful present? Does it not recall to mind those acts of treachery which have been too long unpunished? Is, then, this very Alexis, if he is still in being, exempt from the remorse that follows the commission of so many crimes?

A recent author, desirous of exculpating Catharine, has endeavoured to convince the world that the murder of her husband, and many other atrocious acts whereby she was raised to the throne, were all executed without her knowledge. The translator knows not whether ignorance or presumption is most conspicuous in this assertion. But the facts are so notorious, that imposition has no room to shew itself.

BOOK IX.ARGUMENT.

Relations of Russia with Persia, China, and Japan—The Empress resolves to defend the rights of Joseph II. over the Scheldt—Adventure of the Grand Duke at Gatschina—Death of Lanskoï—Marriage of Potemkin—Yermoloff becomes favourite—League of the electors—Treaty of commerce with France—Dinner of toleration—Momonoff succeeds Yermoloff—The Empress purchases the libraries of Voltaire and d'Alembert.

1784 THE vicinity of the Caspian Sea invites the Russians to trade with Persia; and by Persia they can easily extend it to India. They have accordingly long availed themselves of this advantage. The Czar Alexis Michaelowitz, who almost prepared the reign of his son Peter I. as Philip did that of Alexander, caused a few small vessels to be constructed by his Dutch carpenters; * with which he protected the commerce subsisting between his subjects and the inhabitants of the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan.

Peter I. whose genius favoured every thing that was grand or useful, extended these relations still farther, and established a bank at

* About the year 1660.

Schamachy, a rich and commercial town, which is affirmed to have been the ancient abode of Cyrus * Persia was at this time become a prey to a crowd of petty rebellious tyrants, who, profiting by the quarrels between the usurper Mahmoud † and the feeble Schah-Hussein, ‡ pillaged and ravaged those charming countries. The Lesguis Tartars, descendants of the ancient Albanians, poured down from Mount Caucasus, made themselves masters of Schamachy, and massacred the Russian merchants, with the other inhabitants.

Incensed, as well he might, at this outrage, Peter demanded justice on its authors: but they were either unwilling or unable to give him satisfaction. From that moment he resolved to avenge himself; and, by turning the divisions in Persia to his own advantage, to gain possession of the whole western coast of the Caspian Sea. On this he embarked, sailed as far as the town of Andréoff, landed, and proceeded to besiege Derbent, capital of the Dagestan. Derbent, || a town of great length, and a fortified garrison, took its name from having an iron gate; it made no stouter resistance then than it since did in our times, when attacked by Valerian Zuboff. § Peter I.'s army was not only victorious at Derbent, but likewise before the

* He is called Kur-khan by the Tartars and Persians, who relate many particulars concerning that Prince, unknown to the histories in use among us. Some pretend that he had his name from the river Kur.

† Son of the barbarian Mirweitz.

‡ Schah, or Schach, signifies *sovereign*. Sophi is not a title; it is the name of a family, which traces back its origin to Tamerlane.

|| Derbent, or the Iron-gate, is called by the Turks Demir-Cadi.

§ In the year 1796.

wealthy town of Bachtu ; and three provinces remained subject to the Russians, until Thamas Kouli-Khan afterwards recovered them by conquest.

The commerce of the Russians with Persia was interrupted for some time. It was not until 1744 that it was revived by the English. These obtained permission from the Empress Elizabeth to navigate on the Caspian Sea : which navigation procured them large quantities of fine silks, cotton, and the other valuable articles of merchandize furnished by Persia. They established a factory at Meschek : by the help of caravans they trafficked as far as Great Tartary, Samarkand, and Bolkara.

The display of the English flag upon the Caspian Sea was a subject of disquietude to the famous Thamas Kouli-Khan. Finding himself unable to contend with it, the artful tyrant came to the resolution of depriving the Russians of its assistance. For this purpose he gained over the Captains Elton and Woodroffe,* who commanded the English vessels, and they entered into his service.

Elton, become Admiral of Thamas Kouli-Khan, caused ships of war to be built, with which he forced the Russian vessels to salute the Persian flag, and to acknowledge its superiority. The Empress Elizabeth, informed of this proceeding, immediately revoked the permission which she had granted to the English Company, and sought to avenge herself on Thamas Kouli-Khan, by infecting his own soldiers with a spirit of revolt. Shortly afterwards, this conqueror, as he was preparing to make a descent on Rus-

* To these two navigators we are indebted for the only good chart that has ever been made of the Caspian Sea.

sia, was assassinated, during his sleep, in the plain of Mogan.

From that time the Persians, given up a prey to fresh troubles, thought no more of the Caspian Sea ; and all their ships were destroyed by the Russians.

By the treaty of commerce renewed with the Court of London in 1766, Catharine restored to the English those privileges of which Elizabeth had deprived that nation. But, whether from want of confidence, or whether on account of the troubles that were secretly experienced from them, they have never been able to make that trade so profitable as their first company did.

The Russians then are almost the only people who derive any great advantage from the trade on the Caspian Sea. With about one hundred vessels of between forty and eighty tons burthen, they bring silk and cotton from Ghilan, carpets and fine stuffs from the other provinces, and carry in exchange into Persia, iron, steel, and furs.

Independently of this traffic, the Russians have a considerable fishery on the Caspian Sea. In it they take the shamai, a fish something like the herring ; and the kossa, of a more delicate flavour than the roach of the ocean.* They likewise catch a great number of sea-dogs, the skins of which they sell to the English and Dutch, and make of their fat something like, or what serves instead of, soap.

The rivers of Persia supply the Russians with great quantities of those fish of which the ca.

* The fish of the Caspian is of a taste far more delicate than the fish of other seas. This superiority is attributed to the quality of the waters, which are bitter, and not salt.

viar * is made; a grand article of commerce, and without which scarcely any repast is made in the north.

The fleet maintained by the Empress in the Caspian Sea was built of oak from Kasan, † and consisted of three frigates, five corvettes, and a bomb ketch. These vessels were incessantly upon the cruise along the coasts of Persia, and burnt every ship, and every float of timber, that happened to fall in their way. Their commanders had, besides, positive orders to sow division between the Khans, and always to support the weakest against the powerful assailant. This method was dear to the Empress. It had proved too successful in Poland and in the Krimea, not to admit of being called in, in behalf of the Persians.

In 1782 that Princess resolved upon executing the project formed against Persia by Peter I. She extended her dominion on the western shores of the Caspian Sea. The dissensions which continued to desolate those delightful countries, seemed to favour her ambitious designs: but she met with obstacles totally unexpected.

The most powerful of the Persian tyrants at that time was the Khan Aga-Mahmed. Sprung from one of the first families of the Korassan, Aga-Mahmed was still in his cradle when his fa-

* The caviar that comes from Persia is preferable to that of the Wolga, but inferior to that of the rivers Yaik and Oural. The caviar is made with the eggs of five kinds of fish: the *sterlet*, the *seavriouga*, the *ossetrina*, the *schipa*, and the *bielouga*. The first is, properly speaking, the sturgeon; the three others are like it; but the last is totally of a different species. An English officer, who lived in Russia for some time, and sailed on the Caspian sea, furnished this information.

† The environs of Astrakhan furnish none at all.

ther and his brothers were * strangled by order of Thamas Kouli-Khan. The conqueror satisfied himself by taking those precautions which have prevented this infant from perpetuating his race: but Aga-Mahmed, like the Eunuch Narses, notwithstanding, became a warrior and a statesman.

After the death of Thamas Kouli-Khan, the mother of Aga-Mahmed married again, and had several other children, who proved inveterate enemies of their brother. One of them, Mourtuza Kouli Khan, thinking he should procure mighty succours from Russia, discovered the utmost servility towards that power, which gave him its support, but despised his motives of action. But, in spite of Mourtuza, in spite of Aboulfat, son of Kerim-Khan, the last ruler, and, lastly, in spite of all his rivals, Aga-Mahmed had the ability to render himself master of the Ghilan, of the Mazanderan, of the Schirvan, and of several other provinces.

The Empress gave orders to Count Woinowitch,† Commander of her squadron in the Caspian Sea, to make every possible effort for forming some establishments on the coasts of Persia. Woinowitch sailed with troops and ammunition, and repaired to Asterabath, the best port of the Mazanderan, which is the ancient country of the Mardi. Aga-Mahmed then resided at Ferabath. Woinowitch requested permission to establish a store upon the coast. The Khan, considering perhaps, his inability to force the Russians away

* About the year 1738.

† Count Woinowitch was a Slavonian by birth. Eight years after his expedition into Persia, he served in the Euxine in quality of Rear-Admiral; but displeasing Prince Potemkin, he was forced to lay aside the Russian uniform, and received a shameful dismissal from the service.

by dint of arms, or rather choosing to employ artifice against the intruders, pretended acquiescence with the demands of Woinowitch.

The Russians eagerly constructed a fortress, upon which they planted eighteen cannons. Aga-Mahmed was informed of this, and, still under the mask of dissimulation, resolved on vengeance. He came to see the fortress, admired its construction, praised the activity of the Russians, and invited himself and suite to dine on board the frigate of Woinowitch.

After having spent the day with mirth and testified great friendship for the Russians, the Khan engaged them in return to take a dinner with him at one of his country-seats among the mountains. Thither they repaired on the succeeding day. But they were no sooner arrived, than Aga-Mahmed ordered them all to be put into irons. At the same time he menaced Woinowitch with the loss of his head, and those of all his officers, unless the fortress was immediately razed to the ground.

Woinowitch, who plainly saw the futility of any resistance, signed an order, which was carried to the Commandant of the fort. The cannons were re-embarked, and the wall laid even with the ground. Aga-Mahmed then sent for the Russian officers into his presence; and, not content with heaping upon them scornful and opprobrious treatment, he delivered the youngest of them over to his slaves. These barbarians made them endure outrages which modesty will not permit us to narrate; and, what is still more strange, they were dictated by a eunuch. The Russians were then flogged down to the water-side.

The Court of Petersburg avenged itself of these injuries no otherwise than by continuing

to foment the spirit of dissension in Persia. It raised up against Aga-Mahmed a rival, who soon became the most formidable of his enemies, and robbed him of the province of Ghilan. This conqueror, whose name was Ghedahed-Khan, profiting by the arms and ammunition secretly conveyed to him from Russia, seemed to threaten Aga-Mahmed with the despoliation of all his power. But the latter found means to corrupt the Russian agent, Tomanoffsky, and the Consul, Skilitch, both resident at Zinzili. These betrayed Ghedahed-Khan, and delivered him up to Aga-Mahmed; who ordered him to be beheaded, and became once more the quiet possessor of the Ghilan.

The Russians, however, publicly affected to take no part in these quarrels. Some time after the death of Ghedahed Khan, Prince Potemkin sent one of his officers to compliment Aga-Mahmed, who was then at Riatsch, the capital of the Ghilan. He recommended him, at the same time, to study the character of the Khan, and to sound his disposition towards Russia. The officer repaired to Riatsch, and easily obtained an audience of Aga-Mahmed. But, on conversing with him, he found the Khan gloomy and thoughtful; which gave him reason to apprehend some sinister design. Upon this, he artfully observed, that although he was employed in the service of Russia, he was born an Englishman, and that his nation felt a strong attachment for the Persians, with whom it carried on an extensive commerce in the Gulph of Bassora. The Khan immediately assumed a cheerful air, spoke to the Envoy in a tone full of mildness, and dismissed him with presents.

These reciprocal testimonies of fictitious benevolence were followed by a prompt aggression.

Mourtuza-Kouli-Khan, supported by the Russians, attempted a new incursion upon the Ghilan; but he was repulsed by Khan Solyman, who, in the absence of Aga-Mahmed, had the command. The latter lost no time in accomplishing the entire subjugation of Persia and Georgia.* His desires went farther still: inheriting the projects of the formidable Schah-Nadir, he aimed at the dominion of the province of Astrakhan, and wished to shut the Russians out of the Caspian Sea. But could he effect this without the Turks acting in concert with him? And have the Turks ever had the foresight to concert with an ally to the disadvantage of their enemies?

The commerce carried on by the Russians with China was not less advantageous than that of the Caspian Sea. About one hundred and thirty years † since, the Siberians and the Boukharians set up caravans, which, crossing Chinese Tartary, traded as far as Pekin. To this city they carried furs, and received in exchange gold, silver, precious stones, ‡ stuffs, tea, and all those objects invented by the Chinese, and to which their industry, often fantastical, has given such a degree of perfection.

The arrogance and ill conduct of the Russians soon closed upon them the entrance to China. They were not permitted to extend their traffic beyond the frontiers of that empire; their com-

* The Russians have since reduced Georgia and Circassia to their dominion.

† Towards the year 1653. The caravans spent three years in going to Pekin, stopping there and returning to Tobolsk.

‡ The largest ruby known to be in the world was brought from China to Prince Gargarin, Governor of Siberia. It fell afterwards into the hands of Prince Menzikoff, and is at present one of the ornaments of the Imperial crown. See *the History of Peter the Great*.

merce at several periods was interrupted and resumed: at length, some time previous to the death of the Empress, Queen Elizabeth, fresh quarrels caused a new suspension.

Catharine saw the necessity of reviving this commerce. She accordingly proposed it to the Emperor of China. That Prince acceded to her terms; and in 1780 the little town of Kiachta became the rendezvous of the Russian and Chinese merchants. The Empress, at the same time, sent an Archimandrite from Moscow, and several young Russians, to study at Peking the Chinese language.

She also encouraged several maritime expeditions to Kamtschatka. After the example of the English, who purchase furs on the north western coast of America, several Russian vessels proceeded to China, and trafficked with success.

There was yet another country with which Catharine was desirous of entering into commercial connections. The northern coasts of Russia, and especially her establishments in many of the isles north of the Archipelago, approximated her with Japan. In this, as in other instances, fortuitous circumstances promoted the designs of the Empress.

Some Japanese were shipwrecked in these unfrequented seas, * and saved themselves on the coast of Russia. An inhabitant of Irkutsk, named Laxmann, brought one of them to Petersburg. Catharine gave him a kind reception, and ordered him masters, who, while they taught him the Russian and Tartarian languages, learnt enough of the Japanese to form with the natives commercial connections. This enter-

* A Japanese bark was stranded on Mednoi-ostroff, or the Copper-Island.

prize has not as yet turned out very successful: but it is by no means doubtful, that Russia, sooner or later, will share immense profits made by the Dutch at Japan.

Though Catharine extended her vast dominions in every quarter; though she appropriated to herself, in peace, as well as in war, all the territory on which she could, with impunity, seize, she beheld with a spirit not less devoid of jealousy every accession of power gained by her rivals. The increasing fame of Frederick II. and the preponderance he had acquired in Europe, had particularly wounded her feelings for some time.

Ever since the first partition of Poland, Frederick had made daily encroachments on the privileges of the city of Dantzic, and so galled it with the yoke he imposed upon it, that it was almost reduced to the alternative of surrendering itself to him, or of relinquishing its commerce. Catharine was the more affected at seeing Dantzic fall into the hands of the Prussians, as the Court of Russia had itself long since formed the project of possessing that town, and had only been deterred from its purpose by private remonstrances on the part of the government of France to the Chancellor Woronzoff.*

The magistrates of Dantzic were artfully inveigled by the Minister Stackelberg, to implore the protection of Catharine. She immediately wrote to the King of Prussia, proposing to him her mediation. This step, for some time, retarded the invasion of Dantzic.

Differences of an opposite nature troubled

* The Chancellor Woronzoff kept up a long epistolary correspondence with Tercier, entrusted by the Count de Broglie with the secret correspondence of Louis XV.

another corner of Europe. Joseph II. wished to free the navigation of the Scheldt. To this attempt the Dutch, who used every effort to engage Frederick in support of their avaricious pretensions, gave the most decided opposition. Catharine then declared, that she was resolved to support the rights of the Emperor of Germany. Upon which the Dutch, whose cannon had already insulted the Austrian flag, fearful of an exclusion from the Baltic, negotiated instead of fighting.

While Catharine was securing peace without the empire, and contributing to grant the same blessings to other nations, intrigues were revived in the bosom of her own Court. The disaffected had recourse to every method that could tend to incite the Grand Duke against his mother, and irritate that Princess against her son. The Grand Duke generally spent the autumn at Gatschina, a country seat distant about eighteen wersts from Czarsko-zelo. All at once a report was spread that he had it in contemplation to build a town there, and to give liberty to all who should come and live in it. The Prince was not a little surprised to behold the peasants crowding from various parts of the empire to partake of his beneficence. But he prudently dismissed them, and thus checked a dawning rebellion, in which a trap was laid in order to make him the tool of a party.

His inclination to intrigue, and his zealous attachment, rendered Bezborodko necessary to the Empress. In succeeding Panin, he seemed to inherit his sentiments. Connected with the family of Woronzoff, * he, in secret, opposed Po-

* The two Woronzoffs are brothers of Princess Daschkoff, and of the favourite lady of Peter III. One of them, Alex-

temkin, who disdained all his enemies, openly braved, and sometimes with great ability made them the objects of his derision.

Lanskoi, beloved by Potemkin, to whom he was likewise greatly attached, hourly grew upon the Empress's affection. The education of this favourite had been much neglected. Catharine improved his mind; she adorned it with the most useful acquirements, and admired the work of her own creation. But this satisfaction was of short continuance. Lanskoi became the victim of a stubborn fever, and in the flower of his age expired in her Majesty's arms, who lavished upon him, to the latest moment, all the tenderness of the most affectionate love.

When he was no more, she gave herself up to the bitterness of grief. For several days she refused all sustenance, and remained three months shut up in her palace of Czarsko zelo.* She afterwards raised a superb mausoleum to the memory of Lanskoi; and, more than two years afterwards, her courtiers having accidentally conducted her near this monument, witnessed the renewal of her fond endearment for the youth, by the abundance of tears that flowed at the recollection of his captivating ascendancy.†

ander Woronzoff, was placed at the head of the college of commerce; the other, Sergius Woronzoff, is the present Minister in England.

* At the moment Lanskoi died, the Empress ordered herself to be put to bed, so absorbed with grief, that life was to her a matter of total indifference. The Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, on hearing of this, instantly repaired to Czarsko-zelo: but when they arrived at the door of her bed-chamber, and their presence was announced to the Empress, she desired them, in an altered tone of voice, not to come in; and they were obliged to return without seeing her.

† The fortune of Lanskoi was estimated at 3,000,000

Potemkin undertook to assuage his Sovereign's grief. He was almost the only person who could venture to penetrate the solitude in which she sequestered herself. His influence with her daily increased; and, whether from a principle of gratitude or from affectionate regard, she resolved, it is said, to attach him to her by indissoluble ties; she secretly gave him her hand. *

The matrimonial bond was as incapable of fixing the taste of Potemkin as that of his Imperial mistress. He soon emancipated himself from the obligations imposed by such a tie, and delegated them to a youth of more ardent feelings, and to one of greater complaisance.

All who were ambitious at Court longed to see the place, vacated by the death of Lanskoi, filled up by some personage who would admit them to share the favours dependent on its situation. Princess Daschkoff made all her interest to obtain it for her son; and success for a moment seemed to be the reward of her intrigues.

The young Prince Daschkoff was tall, well made, and of a figure well adapted to warm the heart of Catharine. Potemkin, who perceived the measures employed to accomplish this desirable connection, studiously avoided any open opposition, being apprehensive lest contradic-

roubles. This he bequeathed to the Empress, who bestowed it on the sisters of that favourite, reserving only to herself the right of purchasing the pictures, the medals, the library, the plate, and one landed estate, valued at 400,000 roubles, of which she had made him a present.

* It is undoubtedly a difficult matter to prove the authenticity of this marriage. But a person highly worthy of credit has asserted, that the nieces of Prince Potemkin were in possession of certificates of that event, and that one of them assured him of the fact. But the Empress and Potemkin being now dead, this secret is of no more importance than that of the marriage of Louis XIV. with Madame de Maintenon.

tion should serve as a stimulus. Pretending, on the contrary, to favour young Daschkoff, he now encouraged an intimacy with his family, whom he had hitherto treated with indifference. Potemkin cautiously observed, and with great ability imitated, whatever appeared ridiculous in the persons whose company he frequented; and he neglected not to awaken Catharine's attention to those of Princess Daschkoff and her accomplished son. His mimicry raised in the Empress a hearty laugh; and the next day Potemkin sent for her Majesty's choice, one after another, Yermoloff and Momonoff, two subaltern officers of the guards, charged with some commission, in order to give her an opportunity of seeing them. Catharine decided in favour of the first.

A ball was given at Court. Young Daschkoff displayed an extraordinary magnificence. The courtiers imagined his triumph was not distant; and already treated him with that deference which is the common appendage of favouritism. Potemkin redoubled his attention to Princess Daschkoff, who felt so much satisfaction in his attention, that on the following day she wrote him a note, requesting him to admit her nephew, the young Count Butturkin, into the number of his Aides-de-camp. Potemkin answered with malignant derision, that all the places of Aides-de-camp to him were full, and that the last had just been conferred on Lieutenant Yermoloff.

Of the name, as well as the person that bore it, Princess Daschkoff was equally uninformed. That very day her ignorance ceased, on perceiving Yermoloff at the Hermitage, standing behind the Empress's chair.

1785 Frederick II. who regarded the alliance between Austria and Russia as highly dangerous

to Prussia, and even to the whole of Germany, invited the Electors and the Princes of the Empire to unite for the defence of the Germanic constitution. * The King of Great Britain was one of the first, as Elector of Hanover, to enter into the confederacy : this step gave great displeasure both to the Empress and Potemkin.

The Court of London, desirous of renewing its commercial treaty with Russia, sent, in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary, to Petersburg, Alleyne Fitzherbert, Esq. † who to a peculiar fatality of circumstances added the imprudence of attaching himself to the party of the Woronzoffs and of Bezborodko. The commerce which binds Russia to England is of mutual benefit; and assuredly Catharine had no intention to relinquish it : but she felt a secret pleasure in being able to give a proof of her resentment against the Court of London, by retarding the renewal of the treaty. ‡

Perhaps it may be deemed necessary briefly to state here in what consists the trade carried on by the English with the Russians. This commerce began in the port of Archangel, which the English discovered || somewhat before the middle of the sixteenth century, when in search of a north-east passage to the Indies. From Archangel they went up the Dwina, passed over land to Moscow, and there formed connections which were afterwards greatly extended, when Peter I. had conquered Livonia, and opened to

* The treaty was signed at Berlin the 23d of July, 1785.

† Now created Lord St. Helens, a man of good understanding and great acquirements.

‡ That treaty had yet near two years to run.

|| The port of Archangel was discovered by Captain Richard Chancellor in the year 1553.

them the ports of St. Petersburg, of Reval, of Riga, and of Narva. Since that epoch the Russian trade is become one of the most lucrative to Great Britain, and the most useful to her marine.

The English carry to Russia * the produce of their soil, of their manufactures, and of their colonies in the two Indies, as well as the wines and brandies of France and Spain; which they fetch from the ports of those countries; and by which they not only gain a considerable profit, but are likewise paid for the freight of their ships.

The Russians, in exchange, give them corn, furs, iron, hemp, flax, materials for ship-building, and masts, without which Europe could never fit out those fleets which cover, and so often tinge the seas with blood. The English have likewise established at Moscow, at Tula, at Kasan, at Astrakhan, and in some other towns of Russia, mercantile houses, which trade to the Caspian sea, and send their commodities into Tartary. In these places they have manufactories, of which the workmanship is considerably lower than in England, and where their factors make sails, cables, anchors, hammered or cast iron as well as copper.

This commerce, though entirely passive for Russia, procures her annually a balance of 1,000,000 of roubles in time of peace, and 1,500,000 in time of war. But how great are the advantages to England! What immense resources does it not afford towards the support of her navy, and the perpetual extension of her connections in every part of the globe!

* A part of these details is taken from Favier's Memoirs, from Busching, and the learned professor Busch.

The French Ambassador at * Constantinople had, almost contrary to his own inclination, induced the Court of Petersburg to act in concert with that of Versailles. This Minister had lately been recalled. Vergennes, who felt the necessity of forming a connection with Catharine, procured, by his influence, the appointment of Count de Ségur to the embassy of Petersburg. † This young negociator was worthy of so important a mission. To mental accomplishments he added extensive knowledge; and to politeness and dignity he joined the art of persuasion, with alluring frankness. It was impossible that he should fail of being agreeable to Catharine, and of securing Potemkin's regard; of whom the latter, notwithstanding his haughty roughness, always knew how to appreciate real merit.

Since La Chetardie, ‡ no French Minister had ever been able to succeed at Petersburg. By his servile compliances, Breteuil had favoured the intrigues of Catharine, who soon despised the meanness of his character. The solemnity of Beausset's deportment wearied the Empress. The insignificant mediocrity of the Marquis de Juigne excited her disgust, and the Count de Vérac could never inspire her Majesty with confidence, merely because he stammered as he spoke on his first presentation. The Count de Ségur repaired the mischief occasioned by his unskilful predecessors.

The Empress desired to visit the famous canal

* M. Saint-Priest.

† He arrived there in the month of February, 1784.

‡ La Chetardie had assisted the Empress Elizabeth in ascending the throne, which, however, did not prevent him from running the risk of being assassinated by villains whom the Chancellor Bestuscheff had placed to way-lay him on the road, and who fired at his carriage.

of Wischnei-Wolokzog, that unites the Wolga with the lake Elmen, and that lake with the Ladoga, and consequently the Caspian with the Baltic Sea. Prince Potemkin, Yermoloff, Count Bezborodko, several other courtiers, the English Minister, and the Ambassadors of France and the empire, accompanied her in this journey.

One day the French Ambassador, about to converse as usual with Potemkin, found him more than ever irritated with the Court of London. Seizing with avidity the advantage of this occasion, Ségur artfully represented to Potemkin the benefit resulting to Russia from a direct commerce with France; instead of leaving to the English all the profits * which they derived from both of those powers. Potemkin engaged him to commit the proofs of his observations to paper, and promised to speak of them to none but her Imperial Majesty. The Ambassador immediately returned to his yacht; and finding nobody there but Count Cobenzel and Mr. Fitzherbert, who were playing at back-gammon, he borrowed an ink-stand of the latter. It was therefore with the pen of the British Minister that he sketched the plan of a commercial treaty between France and Russia. This plan was instantly conveyed to Potemkin, who communicated it to the Empress, and obtained her assent. This being acquired, it was faithfully returned to the Ambassador, with a request that

* Those nations which have no treaty of commerce with Russia are obliged to pay the duties in silver. They must therefore buy the roubles at 135 to 145 kopecks the rouble, which is really worth no more than 125. The nations, then, that have a treaty gain 12 per cent. on the duties, which, independently of other advantages, is a considerable benefit. The Ambassador obtained, besides, of the Court of Russia a diminution of the duties laid on French wines.

he would present it, according to custom, to the Vice-chancellor Ostermann.

When this paper was given to Ostermann, who knew not that it had already received the approbation of the Empress and Potemkin, and was entirely devoted to the English, he told the Ambassador that he could not venture to flatter him with successful expectations. The Ambassador remained silent. The plan, being submitted to the Council, was immediately approved; and it was in this manner that the treaty of commerce between France and Russia was established.

Previous to the signing of this treaty, Ostermann and Bezborodko observed that it was necessary that France should declare her adhesion to the armed neutrality. A notification of this was made to the Ambassador, who consented, upon condition that the Court of Petersburg would promise to conclude no treaty with any other power but upon the same exception. This clause, stipulated for in opposition to the interests of England, retarded some time the renewal of the treaty solicited by Mr. Fitzherbert.

The French Ambassador, on his departure from France, had intimated his hope of concluding with Russia a commercial treaty. He was hastily answered, that there was not a shadow of its possibility. When he informed his Court that such a treaty was on foot, Count de Vergennes dispatched a courier to inform him that it was no more than a luring bait thrown out by the Court of Russia, and that he assuredly would endanger the dignity of his Sovereign if he caught at it. Before the courier reached St. Petersburg the treaty was signed.

Previous to her return to St. Petersburg, Catharine visited Moscow, and there met with a less unfavourable reception than she had before expe-

rienced in her former journies. Time had nearly effaced the remembrance of her usurpation. Among those who appeared at her Court was Goudowitch, distinguished for the extreme simplicity of his dress from the crowd of courtiers bespangled with crosses, stars, and decorations of knighthood. His presence alone revived in every bosom the image of Peter III.

Countess Romanowna Woronzoff had been long recalled from exile, and was married to an Admiral, of the name of Paliansky. The Empress never invited her to court, but sent for her daughter, whom she admitted into the number of her Maids of Honour. Did this proceed from remorse of conscience? Was it urged by excess of compassion, or only intended to make some satisfaction to the family of the Woronzoffs?

The Empress, not confining her spirit of toleration to the appointment of a Catholic Archbishop, and the establishment of a seminary of Jesuits at Mohiloff, and the support of Islamism in the Krimea, gave to her people almost every year some solemn testimony of the protection she granted to the liberty of worship. On the day of the benediction of the waters,* her confessor, by her express orders, assembled together all the ecclesiastics of different communions, and honoured them with a grand entertainment, which Catharine called the *Dinner of Toleration*. At the same table were seated the Patriarch of Grulinia, the Archimandrites of the Greek church, a Catholic Bishop, a Prior of the same religion, Franciscans, Jesuits, Lutheran preachers, Calvinists, and English Clergymen.

Ever since the commencement of her reign, Catharine had laboured to diffuse instruction

* The 6th of January.

among her people. She had already founded seminaries of education in various towns : she now resolved to establish them in different parts of the country. For this purpose a commission of public instruction was instituted ; at the head of which was placed her former favourite, Zawodoffsky ; who, without resuming his official capacity, was however restored to favour, and appointed Secretary of the Cabinet and Governor of the Loanbank. Next to him was nominated the learned Epinus,* and Pastoukoff,† Private Secretary to the Empress. The other members of the commission were men of insignificant note, admitted merely on account of their connection with Zawodoffsky.

The commission was much divided in sentiment relating to the manner of instituting the Normal schools, in conformity to her Majesty's desires. Epinus, apprehensive lest obstinacy and ignorance should prevent the execution of the project, advised the adoption of a method pursued in Austria ; to which, after much opposition, it was finally agreed. He was undoubtedly acquainted with the defects of the Austrian method ; but he thought it better to erect imperfect seminaries, susceptible of progressive improvement, than to have none at all.

The Empress then proposed a variety of questions to Joseph II. concerning the Normal schools of Austria. The Emperor sent to her Majesty

* Epinus had been preceptor to Paul Petrowitz. He is a man not less distinguished by his virtues than by his extensive erudition. He published several pieces on the mathematics, and wrote a theory of the loadstone, much esteemed for its merit.

† Pastoukoff was likewise employed in the education of the Grand Duke Paul ; but he was inferior to Epinus in abilities.

Jankowitsch, whom he believed qualified to impart all the information she required. Jankowitsch, an old village schoolmaster, destitute of talents, was no sooner arrived at Petersburg, than he saw himself decorated with the title of Counsellor of State, appointed Director of the Normal schools, and joint Commissioner of public instruction. He became, at the same time, the flatterer of Zawodoffsky and the antagonist of Epinus.

The importance attached by the Empress to her commission of public instruction was such, that she was perpetually sending notes, communicating her ideas upon the most advantageous mode of advancing these Normal schools to perfection. She even attended herself, while the lessons were performing.

A learned German, * member of the St. Petersburg academy of sciences, consented to become Professor of Geography and History in the Russian language. This was a fortunate circumstance; for no Russian would have been capable of it. Catharine, with several of her courtiers, being present one day at a lecture which the Professor delivered on the population of Siberia; after having listened to him with steady attention, she greatly commended both his knowledge and zeal. She afterwards proposed one objection to a part of what had fallen from him, to which he replied in a manner that gave her the utmost satisfaction. Zawadoffsky and some others, unaccustomed to see a literary man controvert the opinion of the Sovereign, seemed to feel indignant at such an instance of presumption; but the Empress eagerly acknowledged

* He has composed the only accurate work on the geography of Russia that ever was published.

that she had been led into an error, and returned thanks to the academician for having, with so much ability, set her right. Observing, at the same time, the displeasure of Zawodoffsky, she embraced the occasion offered her, in the moment of his handing her to the carriage, to order him to repeat her thanks to the Professor. This, however, did not hinder the President of instruction from punishing the worthy man for his courage; he turned him out of his place, and even out of the lodgings that he inhabited. These particulars may perhaps appear of trifling consequence; but they tend to exhibit the character of the Empress, whose immoralities we have freely depicted; it is but fair, then, that we should likewise allow all that merit claims in her favour.

Yermoloff had arrived at the summit of fa-¹⁷⁸⁶ vour; from this he was precipitated by his own imprudence. He was tall in stature, of a fair complexion, and a figure that announced a soul of perfect apathy, but which was, notwithstanding, jealous in the extreme. He presently discovered his ingratitude to Potemkin, who raised him to the point of honour. He warmly seized every occasion to injure him; and it was from a spirit of mere contradiction that he defended the unhappy Khan Sahim-Guerai, the payment of whose pension was basely neglected. The Empress, who became daily more indulgent to her lovers, shewed some marks of coolness to Potemkin; even the Ambassador of France, whose interest at Court gave equal offence to Yermoloff, was not treated with wonted respect.

Bezborodko, Alexander Woronzoff, and some other courtiers, contributed, by their instigations, to exasperate the favourite. Yermoloff had an uncle, named Lewaschoff, whom Potem-

kin had shamefully dismissed from the service, in consequence of a quarrel at play,* in which this Lewaschoff happened to be wrong. Yermoloff complained of it to the Empress. Potemkin suffered her Majesty's reproaches, and felt himself so hurt, that he haughtily replied:— 'Madam, you have but one alternative; you must either dismiss Yermoloff or me: for, so long as you keep that white negro, † I will not set my foot within the palace.' The same day Yermoloff received orders to travel. Momonoff succeeded him.

The knowledge of these intrigues scarcely reached beyond the purlieus of the Court: but Catharine's glory was universally known.

* Potemkin played enormously high, but always generously. Being at Mohiloff, where this brutal Passick had the command, and who had been raised to the rank of General as a reward for the part he had taken in the dethronement of Peter III. he pointed at pharo; Passick, who cut, had the effrontery to try to filch a card. Potemkin noticed it, took him by the collar, and gave him about twenty cuffs in the face; after which he set out for Petersburg. All who were present at this scene looked upon Passick as a lost man. But he had a daughter who was a maid of honour to the Empress, and, what is more, was very handsome; she easily obtained the delinquent's pardon. Potemkin was often a victim to his passions. He once struck Prince Wassili D. under pretence that this Prince took the part of General Kretschetnikoff; but the real cause of his anger was, his partiality for the Princess D. who had resisted his importunities. He also struck Prince Wolkonsky, because, while at table, that Prince clapped his hands at some witticism that fell from the despot. Potemkin rose up, took him by the collar, gave him several blows with his fist, saying, 'What! do you applaud me as if I were a vile buffoon!' Then, turning towards the Austrian General Jordis, who was also at table: 'There, General,' said he, 'that is the way to treat such scoundrels as these!'

† Potemkin called Yermoloff by that name, because he was so extremely fair.

During his travels into the interior of Russia, the learned Pallas had made a great collection of natural curiosities, and by this means had formed a valuable cabinet. The Empress purchased it of the Professor. She had likewise, some years before, purchased the libraries of D'Alembert and Voltaire. *

* Some little time after the death of Voltaire, Catharine commissioned her correspondent at Paris to purchase for her the library of the author of 'Mahomet.' Madame Denis, who had inherited that library, told the correspondent that she would not sell it, but that she would willingly make her homage of it to the Empress. Her Majesty then wrote her the following letter :

' Petersburg, Aug. 15, 1778.

' I have just now learnt, Madam, that you consent to surrender into my hands that precious deposit left you by your late uncle, that library which souls of sensibility will never behold without recollecting that this great man knew how to inspire mankind with that universal benevolence, which breathe in all his writings; even in those of mere entertainment; because his soul was deeply penetrated with it. No man before him ever wrote like him: to future generations he will serve both as an example and as a rock. To equal him, genius and philosophy must be united with information and entertainment; in a word, he must be M. de Voltaire. If, with all Europe I have shared in your grief, Madam, upon the loss of that incomparable man, you have entitled yourself to participate in the gratitude I owe to his writings. I am, be assured, extremely sensible of the esteem and the confidence which you evince towards me. It is highly flattering to me to see that they are hereditary in your family. The generosity of your behaviour has secured to you my favourable sentiments. I have written to Monsieur de Grimm * to deliver to you some feeble testimonies of it, of which I desire your acceptance.

' CATHARINE.'

Her Majesty had written on the cover:—' For Madame Denis, niece of a great man, who loved me much.' At the conclusion of this letter, the Empress requested of Madame Denis a plan in relief of the façade and of the interior distribution of the mansion de Ferney, as well as of the gardens and its avenues, because she purposed to build its resemblance in the park of Czarsko-Zelo.

* M. Grimm was at Paris the literary correspondent of the Empress.

Several travellers had, by her orders, at different times traversed the northern Archipelago, and the remotest of the Russian provinces. She sent again several learned persons, some towards Caucasus, others to the frontiers of China. But were not these enterprizes undertaken from a vain desire of filling Europe with the sound of her name, rather than from a principle of true love for the sciences? Had Catharine been inspired with the noble ambition of rendering the labours of the learned travellers of general utility, would she not have ordered the publication of their discoveries both within and out of the borders of her extensive dominions? Their departure was always emphatically announced; their return never brought any thing more than a clandestine light. A few rays of that light has, however, escaped, which the envious policy of Russia could not conceal from him who has transmitted them to posterity.

In 1784 M. Pallas conceived the project of a new expedition to the northern Archipelago, and formed instructions for the navigator who was to execute it. This navigator was Billings, an Englishman, who had been assistant-astronomer to the celebrated Captain Cook, in his voyages round the world. He first repaired to the river Kowima, where he caused a vessel to be built, in order to double Tchouktskoi-Noss; but his attempt was not crowned with success.

The year following Billings sailed round the isles of the Eastern Ocean; from Okotsk and the Bay of Awatscha, as far as the coasts of Japan. He sketched out charts of his voyage; but the discoveries which he made are not of great importance. He however collected a number of curiosities, and brought to Petersburg a native of Owna-

laschkas, and a woman whom the inhabitants of that island had carried off from the shores of America, and who affirmed that she came from a part of the continent very remote from the coasts.

Returned to Petersburg, Billings began, with the assistance of M. Pallas, to reduce the journal of his voyage into some order: but it is much to be feared that this work, like those of which we have spoken before, will stop short of completion, and be lost to the public.*

The Empress, desirous of augmenting the population of Kerson, and her new provinces of Taurida and Caucasus, published a manifesto, inviting foreigners to come and settle in those countries. We shall here insert a few fragments from this fresh bait offered to the credulity of Europe.

‘ The protection which we customarily grant to strangers who come for the purpose either of carrying on commerce, or of exerting their industry in our empire, is generally known. Every one may enjoy in our dominions the free exercise of the religion of his fathers; a perfect security, the protection of the laws and the govern-

* The man, who, if he had not been stopped on his journey, would doubtless have given us much valuable information, was one John Ledyard, by birth an American. About sixteen years ago he formed the design of travelling on foot to the Tschouktschis, of crossing, under their guidance, the Straits of Behring, and thence proceeding to the English settlements at Hudson’s Bay. He undertook this extraordinary journey unaccompanied and unarmed. He was arrested at Yakoutsk, under pretence of his being a spy, and conducted to the frontiers of Prussia, whence he returned to England. This intrepid pedestrian went afterwards to Egypt, with the design of exploring all Africa on foot. Death, however, put a stop to his undertaking: he died at Grand Cairo.

ment. Whatever is necessary for the accommodation and convenience of life; whatever means are required for the accumulation of riches, are there offered, both from the fertility of the soil and the objects suited to commerce. The territory of Caucasus, subject to our sceptre, affords all these resources in greater abundance than the other provinces of our empire. Foreigners who are willing to settle there, whether in the towns or in the country, will find a peaceful asylum and many advantages.—They shall be, for six years, exempt from all duties to the Crown. If, at the expiration of that term, they may be desirous of quitting our dominions, they shall be at full liberty to depart, on paying the value of the imposts of three years only.*

In another manifesto, which appeared a few months after this, the Empress declared to all the inhabitants of Russia and Tartary, that they were no longer required, in their addresses to her, to stile themselves her *slaves*, but her *subjects*.† Catharine was not ignorant of the means of rendering herself popular, and those means she often employed with art. That which was the most subservient to this purpose was the care she took of children. Whether from inclination or from policy, she always had a great number of them in her apartments. There they enjoyed equal liberty with the Princes, her grand-children; they called the Empress nothing but grand-mamma, and she returned their caresses with extreme complaisance.

* This manifesto is dated from Czarsko-zelo, the 14th of July, 1785.

† Letters and memorials disfigured by erasures might be presented to her Majesty without danger of giving offence. She never imagined that they conveyed an intention of insulting her dignity.

What! then, is this the woman, whose murderous tongue could command the effusion of her unhappy husband's blood? Is this that ambitious Princess, who seemed to breathe nothing but usurpation of crowns, and invasion of territories? In a word, is this the haughty Sovereign, who sometimes addressed her Ministers and Generals in a tone of forbidding arrogance, and demanded of them with contumelious asperity, 'If she had honoured them with the ensigns of authority, or with the badges of her orders, that they might render themselves unworthy of her confidence?' Yes, indeed, this is the woman. That man's knowledge of the human heart must, however, be exceedingly partial, not to admit that sentiments and inclinations the most opposite in their tendency are often found united in the same person.

BOOK X.ARGUMENT.

Catharine II. takes a journey into the Krimea—Assassination of the Khan Sabim-Guerai—The Turks declare war against Russia—Gustavus III. invades Finland—Sea fight between the Swedes and the Russians—Bentzelstierna attempts to burn the Russian fleet at Copenbagen—Capture of Oc-zakoff—Peace of Varela—Victories obtained over the Turks—Capture of Ismail—Momonoff dismissed—Elevation of Zouboff—The Court of Great Britain sends Mr. Fawkener to Petersburg—Peace of Yassi—Death of Potemkin.

1787 **C**ATHARINE had long intended to visit the Krimea, and to conduct her grandson, Constantine, * to the portals of the Eastern empire, which she had destined for him from his birth. Every preparation for this voyage was complete, when the young Prince fell sick of the measles, which obliged him to remain at Petersburg.

The Empress set out,† accompanied by her ladies of honour, by the favourite Momonoff,

* This young Prince was always dressed according to the fashion of the Greeks, and surrounded by children of that nation, whose language he spoke with great facility. It was even out of pure regard to him that the Grecian corps of 200 cadets was established.

† The 18th of January, 1787.

the Grand Equerry Narischkin, Count Iwan Czernischeff, the two Counts Schuwaloffs, and several other courtiers, with the Ambassadors of Austria and France, and the English Envoy. The sledges travelled by night as well as by day. A great number of horses had been collected at each station; fires were lighted at the distance of every thirty fathom; and an immense crowd of spectators, attracted by curiosity, edged the road.

On the sixth day the Empress arrived at Smolensko. A fortnight after she made her entry into Kioff, whither the Princes Sapieha and Lubomirsky, the Potockis, the Branitskies, and most part of the other Polish nobility who were devoted to Russia, had repaired to receive the Sovereign.

Prince Potemkin had preceded her Majesty. He, as well as Prince Nassau Siegen, who, for some time past, had entered the Russian service, joined her at Kioff. Marshal Romanzoff was likewise there. Already hurt at Potemkin's* arrogance, he had, during his stay at Kioff, additional causes of complaint, and his discontent became visible to every one. But, whatever value the Empress attached to the brilliant services of the vanquisher of the Ottomans, the favour of Potemkin suffered no diminution thereby.

Fifty magnificent gallies had been drawn upon the Dnieper for the reception of the Empress. Catharine, at the dawn of the spring, went to Krementschouk, and embarked † there, with her numerous escort.

* Marshal Romanzoff was Commander in Chief of the cavalry, and during the space of fourteen successive years there was no promotion in that corps, because Potemkin disliked the Marshal.

† The 6th of May, 1787.

The next day the fleet anchored over against Kanieff. The King of Poland, who had come thither under his old name of Count Poniatowsky, immediately went on board the Empress's galley. Three and twenty years had elapsed since they had seen each other.* On their first interview, Catharine's sensibility seemed affected; but Stanislaus Augustus preserved his wonted presence of mind, and discoursed with great composure. Soon after this they remained alone in the apartment assigned to the Empress, and conferred in private for more than than half an hour. After which, they went on board another galley, and dined together. Catharine decorated her former lover with the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew.

Potemkin, who had never seen the Polish Monarch, seemed quite enchanted with his company. To this impression may perhaps be ascribed the preservation of his crown for some years longer. However this may have been, Stanislaus retired that evening, highly satisfied, in appearance, with her Majesty's reception, and the fleet continued its course.

At Krementschouk the Empress was lodged in a house superbly ornamented. In this place she found an army of 12,000 men, newly uniformed, who presented to her view a sham fight, by manœuvring in four columns, with a square battalion of Kosaks.†

* It has been observed that a private interview between them took place at Riga in 1764.

† It was on this occasion that the Empress, who was granting favours to every body, and of whom almost every body asked them, said to Souwaroff— And you, General, do you want nothing? ' Only that you would give orders for my lodgings to be paid, Madam,' answered Souwaroff. His lodgings cost two roubles a month.

The passage by water was still more agreeable. The banks of the Dnieper were covered with temporary villages, with peasants elegantly dressed, with numerous flocks, which, by cross-roads, came to those places on the coast where the fleet was to pass, and incessantly reproduced their picturesque view to the eyes of the voyagers. The beauty of the season added a zest to the magical effects of the spectacle presented to her Majesty, and every thing united to change the face of this almost desert region, and to give it the semblance of a delightful country.

Joseph II.* had preceded the Empress's arrival at Kerson. He hastened out to meet, and joined her Majesty at Kaidak. She immediately landed, and went by land to Kerson, whither the Emperor returned.

Kerson was already an opulent city. It had a harbour full of vessels, and dock-yards well supplied. A man of war of 66, and a frigate of 40 guns, were launched in presence of her Majesty. As she was going through several parts of the town, she read upon the eastern gate a Greek inscription to this effect:—‘THIS IS THE WAY TO BYZANTIUM.’

There was then at Kerson a great number of foreigners: Greeks, Tartars, French,† Spaniards, English, Poles; some were drawn thither by curiosity alone, others by the desire of paying homage to the Empress. Potemkin presented to her Miranda,‡ who, being forced to

* He assumed the title of Count Falkenstein.

† Among the French were Edward Dillon and Alexander Lameth.

‡ Miranda, a fugitive from the Havannah, had gone to New York and into Canada; from whence he proceeded to Constantinople and to Kerson. Being afterwards at Petersburg, he was claimed by the Spanish Charge des Affaires: but

shun his native country, sought an asylum among the Russians, and since became a General in the French service.

Among the females who had resorted to the Court of Catharine, was a Grecian lady already famous; * whose charms had probed the heart of Prince Potemkin, and threatened to snatch him away from the crowd of beauties who contended for his favours.

Long previous to her departure from Petersburg, the Empress had sent Major Sergius to Constantinople, in order to apprise the Divan of her design to come into the Krimea. The Divan did not receive this intelligence with pleasure; they almost regarded the journey in the light of an aggression: they prepared to repel it; and while the Empress was at Kerson, four Turkish ships of the line and sixteen frigates came and anchored at the mouth of the Borysthenes. These ships were neither inclined, nor, without doubt, had the ability to attempt any thing injurious; but the very sight of them rankled on Catharine's soul. She beheld them with scorn, and could not turn her eyes from viewing them.—‘Do you see?’ said she to her

the Empress refused to give him up; and when he quitted Russia, she recommended him to her Ministers at foreign courts.

* She was called Madame de Witt. From his partiality for her, Potemkin gave the command of Kerson to her husband. This did not prevent Madame de Witt from becoming faithless to Prince Potemkin. Under pretence of going to see her mother, who was a poor tradeswoman at the seraglio, she went to Constantinople with the Countess de Mnischeck. Choiseul-Gouffier gave her lodgings in the French hotel. After the death of Potemkin, Madame de Witt followed the fortune of Felix Potocky; and, at the solicitation of the Countess Potocky, the Empress ordered her to be arrested, and shut up in a convent.

courtiers: 'one would imagine that the Turks no longer remembered Tschesmé!'

Joseph II. received at Kerson the first news of the rebellion in Brabant. Some persons exhorted him to repair immediately to Brussels, and endeavour, by great moderation, to calm the minds of an irritated people. That Prince gave no explanation of his intended conduct, nor did he take the road for his dominions. On the contrary, he followed the Empress, who set out upon a visit to the interior of the Krimea.

The Empress was there received by the principal Myrzas, whose troops made in her presence various evolutions. All at once the carriages were surrounded by a thousand Tartars, who formed themselves into an escort. Joseph II. who had not been apprised of what was to happen, expressed some uneasy apprehensions; but the Empress preserved her usual tranquillity. These Tartars had previously been placed there by Potemkin. They had assuredly no sinister design; but admitting they had, would they have dared to put it in execution? Did not they know that Potemkin had, not far from thence, an army of 153,000 men?

Catharine made her entry with great pomp into Bastchiserai, and lodged, together with her suite, in the palace of the Khan. In the evening she was entertained with the spectacle of an illuminated mountain, so artificially executed as to resemble one perfect flame. Every means was devised to flatter her regards; and she omitted nothing that could ensure her the affections of the people. She allotted funds for building two mosques. Among the Myrzas she distributed considerable presents. The Myrzas expressed towards her signs of the most ardent

devotion, and, six weeks afterwards, resolved to succour the Turks.

On her return, the Empress was conducted to Pultawa. Two armies soon discovered themselves. They approached; they engaged; and gave Catharine an exact representation of the famous battle in which Peter the Great vanquished Charles XII.

This spectacle was worthy of Potemkin, and of the two Sovereigns before whom it was represented. Joseph II. on whom the very name of a warrior made a lively impression, could not refrain from deploring the unhappy fate of the Swedish Monarch: he felt, however, extremely delighted with all that Potemkin and the Empress did. Catharine had so captivated his mind, that he resolved on assisting her Majesty to raise her grandson to the crown of Constantinople.

Joseph II. however, could not help expressing astonishment arising from the extraordinary complaisance shewed by the Empress to Momonoff. The favourite at times would strangely abuse his ascendancy over her mind, and his vanity seemed to be flattered in having the power to give illustrious witnesses to his puerile triumphs. *

At Moscow Joseph II. took leave of the Empress; and, rapidly crossing Poland, returned to

* It is customary in Russia to play at whist upon tables, not covered with green cloth, and to score the game with small pieces of chalk crayons in silver cases. Momonoff was every day of the Empress's party: and, having some knowledge of drawing, he sometimes took the chalk, and amused himself with sketching caricatures on the table, while the Sovereign, with the cards in her hand, complaisantly waited till he had finished his scrawl, to proceed in her play.

his dominions, while that Princess directed her route to Petersburg. *

The unfortunate Khan, Sahim-Guerai, was no more in the Krimea when the Empress visited the peninsula. After having despoiled him of his power, Potemkin retained him for some time near his person at Kerson; where that imprudent Tartar wore the uniform of General of the Préobaginsky guards, and was decorated with the ribbon of a Russian order. He was afterwards banished to Kaluga; the payment of his pension was stopped; himself left in the most extreme destitution; forced to abandon his native country; to throw himself into the arms of the Turks; whom he might have regarded as his most mortal enemies; if the Russians had not already proved so by their perfidious conduct.

He first retired into Moldavia, where a Capigi-Bachi and the Hospodar long advised him, but in vain, to repair to Constantinople. Colonel de Witt, † then Commandant of the fortress of Kaminiek, and obsequiously devoted to Potemkin, united his solicitations with those of the Capigi-Bachi. But Sahim-Guerai still resisted. He doubtless anticipated the fatal lot that awaited him. At last, his person was seized, and transported to the isle of Rhodes. There Sahim-Guerai took refuge in the house of the French Consul, ‡ of whom the Turks eagerly demanded his surrender. The Consul, thinking that they would not presume to violate his asylum, had the noble courage to refuse giving up the man who had placed himself under his protection; but they threatened to fire his house; and seizing the in-

* She arrived there the latter end of July: her journey took up six months and four days.

† The husband of the Madame de Witt before mentioned.

‡ The name of the Consul was Mille.

stant of his temporary absence, they tore down the arms of France from over the gate, went and fastened them to a neighbouring house, and strangled the unfortunate Khan. Thus it was that the Turks revenged this Prince's defection; and thus it was that the perfidious Russians compensated the credulous Tartar for the cession of his dominions.

Some time previous to her Majesty's departure for the Krimea, Bakounin, the Minister for foreign affairs, and at first in the enjoyment of supreme favour, received orders to travel. Bezborodko wanted to place Markoff at Petersburg. Nothing more was necessary than to procure the banishment of Bakounin. But whether, from losing his place, chagrin overwhelmed his mind, or whether some other cause accelerated the period of his existence, Bakounin did not carry the secrets of the state into foreign countries; he died almost suddenly.

Markoff was then recalled from Stockholm; he succeeded to the place of Bakounin; while Andrew Razumofsky, whose talents and courage rendered him dear to Catharine, passed from Denmark to Sweden.

Markoff, the son of a Russian peasant, and, at his first set-out, Secretary to Prince Gallitzin, Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague, had accompanied Prince Repnin to the Congress of Teschen, and was afterwards sent to Paris, from whence he was ordered by the Empress into Sweden. Of an active and artful disposition, he suited Bezborodko, whose inclination for libertinism he shared with pleasure. In consequence of which, a familiar intimacy shortly united them in bonds of friendship, which the latter soon had reason to repent.

Potemkin, however, at all events, longed to

implicate the Turks in the commencement of hostilities. Independently of the hope of dismembering the Ottoman empire the second time, a private motive induced him to wish for war, and rendered it necessary to him. Burthened with titles, honours, dignities, and crosses of knighthood, he still desired to procure the grand ribbon of the order of St. George: for the acquisition of which he must command an army, gain a victory, and massacre a multitude of soldiers! But what, in the estimation of Potemkin, were the lives of thousands, when compared with a ribbon that flattered his pride?

Bulgakoff, Minister of Russia at Constantinople, had come to Kerson, and informed the Empress of his secret operations, and of the dispositions of the Divan. That Minister had acquired information in Egypt, by means of Baron Tholus, Consul-General of Russia at Alexandria. Another Consul, retained by Russia at Smyrna, whose name was Peter Ferrieri, gave himself up to all the intrigues of which, perhaps, a daring Greek is capable. A third endeavoured to stir up insurrections in Moldavia. The Russian ships licentiously abused the numerous privileges which they had extorted from the Porte; and the Court of Petersburg perpetually countenanced this violation of treaties.

The Porte, taking umbrage at this unjust procedure, and irritated at the discovery of a correspondence between Bey Ibrahim, one of the Governors of Cairo, and the Russian Minister, ordered the Capudan Pacha to go and restore tranquillity in Egypt. A few days afterwards, the Grand Vizir and the Reis Effendi demanded a conference* of the Minister Bulgakoff, and de-

* The 26th of July.

livered him a memorial, succinctly drawn up, to which they requested him to give an immediate answer. This memorial stated :

‘ That experience having discovered the Russian Consul in Moldavia to be a restless and a turbulent man, who employed every device to disturb the peace of the two empires, the Grand Signor insisted upon his departure from his dominions without delay.

‘ That the troubles which had for two years desolated Georgia, being evidently the effect of the protection which the Empress had granted to Prince Heraclius; against the spirit of the treaties; it was conformable to justice itself, that the Russian troops should abandon Teflis, and withdraw so far from that kingdom, as was requisite for the re-establishment of tranquillity.

‘ That the Russian vessels which passed before Constantinople, having always on board prohibited merchandize; his Sublime Highness required that all these vessels should be visited without exception.

‘ That the Sublime Porte, informed that Prince Alexander Mauro-Cordato, who had fled from Yari at the beginning of February, had found an asylum in Russia, demanded her abandonment of this Prince.

‘ That the Russians must furnish the inhabitants of Oczakoff with a greater quantity of salt than they had hitherto done.

‘ That, lastly, the Grand Signor demanded a power to establish agents in the Russian dominions, to protect the commerce of his subjects.’

Previous to answering this memorial, Bulgakoff requested time to consult his Court. This was granted; but the Divan soon met again, and resolved that it was needless to wait for a reply from Petersburg. War was declared in Con-

stantinople, and Bulgakoff shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers. *

The Internuncio † of the Court of Vienna and the French Ambassador ‡ acted in concert with the Divan to obtain the release of Bulgakoff. Their endeavours were fruitless. The British Minister had at that time more influence than they, and warmly espoused the resentment of his Court; which had beheld with jealousy a treaty of commerce formed between Russia and France.

The Turks prepared for war with the greatest activity. They marched 80,000 men to cover Oczakoff. A formidable army advanced towards the banks of the Danube; and the Grand Vizir held himself in readiness to display the standard of Mahomet at the head of the Ottoman troops.

A squadron of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and several oared-gallies, entered the Euxine under command of the Capudan Pacha.

This old Admiral was just returned from Egypt; where he had subdued the rebellious Beys, Ibrahim and Murat; and collected a tribute of more than twelve millions of piastres. But his success did not feed his pride, he was still humble. He remembered with grief the disasters of Tschesmé. Previous to his departure for the Krimea, he assembled the principal officers of his squadron, and addressed them in the following terms:

‘ You know whence I am come, and what have been my achievements. A new field of honour invites me, as well as you, to devote the last breath to the honour of our religion, to the

* The 18th of August. † Baron Herbert.

‡ M. de Choiseul-Gouffier.

service of the Sultan and to the invincible nation, which, in the present situation of affairs, demand the last drop of our blood. It is in order to fulfil this sacred duty, that I now part from those of my family who are dearest to me. I have granted liberty to all my slaves of both sexes; I have paid them all that I owed them; and I have recompensed them according to their merits. I have bid my last adieu to my wife; and I am now going in search of battles, with the firm resolution to conquer or to die. If I should return, it will be a signal favour conferred by the Almighty. I am not desirous that my days should be prolonged, but to terminate them with glory. Such is my unshaken resolution.

‘You, who have ever been my faithful companions; you have I called together to exhort, in this decisive conjuncture, to follow my example. If there be any one among you who feels not the courage to die in the post of honour, let him freely declare it. He shall find favour before me, and shall immediately receive his discharge. Those, on the contrary, who shall be wanting in courage to execute my orders in action, must not pretend to attribute their flight to contrary winds and the disobedience of their crews; for I swear by Mahomet and by the life of the Sultan, that I will have their heads, and the heads of their crews, severed from their shoulders. But he who shall discover bravery, and perform his duty well, shall be rewarded with generous liberality. Let all those, then, who are willing to follow me on these conditions, rise up and swear to obey me faithfully.

At these words all the Commanders having risen, swore to conquer or to die with their Grand Admiral. ‘Yes,’ exclaimed he, ‘I acknowledge

you all for my brave and faithful companions ! Go, return to your ships; assemble your crews upon deck; communicate to them my speech; receive their oath; and hold yourselves ready for sailing to-morrow.'

The Turks suspected the fidelity of the Greeks, and disarmed them all: at the same time they published a manifesto; inviting the Tartars again to submit to the dominion of the Grand Signor. That race looked back with emotions of sorrow on Government, and detested their new system. In vain did the Empress load them with presents; in vain did she cause the Koran to be printed,* and mosques to be built; in her they only beheld the Christian; to whom in their heart they preferred a Mussulman Prince. The Myrzas then met, and elected for their Khan Shah Par-Guerai, who soon found himself at the head of an army of 40,000 men.

The news of the war was received at Petersburg with transports of joy. The Empress had long foreseen it, and awaited its commencement with eager expectation. All her preparations were made. She had already a numerous body of troops collected in the Kuban; and her armies were on their march to the Krimea. The whole country, from Kaminiek to Balta, was covered with her soldiery. Potemkin, Commander in Chief of all these forces, had under his orders Souwaroff, Repnin, Kamenskoi, Kakofsky, and a crowd of other Generals. Marshal Romanzoff, unwilling to become instrumental to the glory of Potemkin, excused himself on account of his great age, and refused a command, which was

* The Empress had the Koran or Cour'ann printed at Petersburg for the use of the inhabitants of Taurida.

the mere offer of a forced respect. His son went, and joined the army.

A fleet of eight ships of the line, twelve frigates, and near 200 zebecs or gun-boats, was fitted out in the Euxine; and two powerful squadrons, under the command of Admirals Kruse and Greig, lying at Cronstadt, were ready to sail for the Mediterranean.

The alliance of Joseph II. assured the Empress of a formidable support. That Prince was equally ardent for a war with the Turks. Eighty thousand Austrians were marched into Moldavia: every thing seemed to announce the subversion of the Ottoman empire.

Catharine, however, dissembling both her sentiments and her unjust designs, published a manifesto, in which she reproached the Turks with the infraction of the treaties of which she alone violated the sacred engagements; and, after a long enumeration of the pretended wrongs ascribed to the Porte, she added:

‘ That, provoked by a conduct, in itself so offensive, she had, *very unwillingly*, been obliged to have recourse to arms, as the only means left her for the support of those rights which she had acquired at the price of so much blood; and to avenge her wounded dignity, suffering from the violence that had been used towards her Minister at Constantinople; that, *entirely innocent* of all the calamities inevitably engendered by war, she relied with confidence, not only on the *Almighty protection* and the assistance of her allies, but on the prayers of the Christian world, for triumph in a cause so just as that which she was obliged to defend.’

This manifesto was soon followed up by a second, which declared: ‘ That the Porte had arrogantly presumed to insist on a categorical an-

swer to its absurd demands; and that the Empress, forced to repel the aggression of the enemy of the Christian name, armed herself with confidence, *under the protection of that just God who had so long and so powerfully shielded the Russian Empire.*'

In support of these manifestoes, by which Catharine endeavoured to move heaven and earth against the Ottomans, means were employed still more adapted to the superstition of the Russian breast; papers were published, called the prophecies of the patriarchs Jeremiah and Nikon,* wherein was emphatically predicted the imminent destruction of Constantinople. This was at the same time an indirect manner of combating a kind of false prophet called the Sheik Mansour; who, by the assurance that an angel had appeared to him in the midst of a wood, had collected an army, and raised against the Russians all the hordes of Mount Caucasus.

The Empress earnestly solicited the French Ambassador to engage his Court, in junction with her's, for the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. In reward for this service, she offered to cede to France the possession of Ægypt; on the conquest of which she firmly relied. But the Ambassador knew better than to trust this alluring bait. He knew that if Turkey was to be partitioned, Ægypt would be far less desirable to the French than the Isle of Candia. He knew, that though it might be advantageous for France to have a treaty of commerce with the Russians; it would prove still more to her interest to oppose the downfall of the Turks; with whom she carried on a trade in itself more safe, more lu-

* Nikon, raised to the patriarchal dignity in 1652, changed the ancient liturgy of the Greek church.

crative, and more convenient. In short, he knew that the inefficient government of Constantinople could never, like that of Petersburg, menace a derangement of the equilibrium of Europe. Besides, could Catharine rely on the submission of Egypt? Her Consul-General, Tholus, it is true, kept up several correspondencies there; he had gained over the Beys Ibrahim and Murat* to his interest; but the temptations with which he endeavoured to allure another Bey, named Ismael, were not attended with equal success. Ismael caused him to be arrested, and sent to the Pacha of Cairo, who detained him prisoner.

By inciting the Christian Princes to arm against the Turks, Catharine surely could never suppose that they would second all her ambitious schemes, or that they would remain even calm spectators of her triumphs. She was not ignorant that the Porte was instigated to war by England, from whom she received supplies; and that Prussia would neither suffer with patience the aggrandizement of Russia or that of the house of Austria. But what the Empress did not foresee, was the resolution formed by Gustavus III. to declare war against her immediately.

1788 Since Count Ostermann had quitted Stockholm, his successors † had faithfully imitated his conduct. But no one had distinguished himself by so much presumption as Count Andrew Razumoffsky. Eager to regain his Sovereign's favour, that Minister was perpetually occupied in sowing dissension among the Swedish nobles, of whom the greater part were discontented with

* Or Amurath.

† Mouschin-Pouskin, and afterwards Markoff.

their King, and but too much inclined to listen to the base counsels of the Russian.

Gustavus resolved upon revenge. Before the Turks had declared war against Russia, Heidesdam, his Minister at Constantinople, had already received orders to conclude a treaty of alliance with them. The Turks called to mind with respect the victories of Charles XII. They thought that a King of Sweden could make a powerful diversion in their favour. They promised Gustavus considerable subsidies, part of which was paid him in ready money. Besides, Prussia assisted him with a loan, and England promised him the aid of a squadron. Upon this, that Prince immediately prepared to arm.

Witnessing the preparations that were going forward at Stockholm, Andrew Razumoffsky haughtily demanded the reason of them? Gustavus, with a greater assumption of hauteur, replied, that he was not accountable for his actions to any foreign power. It was a scene not a little extraordinary, to see an Ambassador disputing in the capital of Sweden the prerogatives of the Swedish Monarch, and attempting to set bounds to his power. Gustavus, justly indignant, ordered Razumoffsky to depart from Stockholm. But the Russian, under various pretexts, found means to defer his departure for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding this, the preparations for war continued with ardour. The fleet was equipped at Carlescrona; the troops to be embarked collected round the capital; others were on their march to Finland. The necessity of putting the kingdom in a state of defence was artfully propagated, because the Court of Petersburg had menaced Sweden with an attack, if Gustavus consented not to furnish her with suc-

cours against the Turks. The Swedish soldiers felt an ardent flame to measure swords with a nation so often vanquished by their ancestors. In fine, they were embarked, and the fleet which had them on board arrived in Finland, whither they had been preceded by Gustavus himself.

The troops had scarcely entered the frontiers, than a small detachment of Russian chasseurs made a feint to dislodge a guard of Swedes who defended a bridge. Several rounds * were exchanged on both sides, which Gustavus took for a signal of war. His orders were already issued, and his squadron had captured two Russian frigates that were cruising off the height of Sweaborg, in order to exercise the marine cadets of Petersburg.

Gustavus resolved to march against Fredericksham. But, as they had not yet been able to land the heavy artillery from on board the squadron of Cronstadt, he formed a design of attacking the town on two different sides, and of carrying it by assault.

Dismay took possession of every breast in Petersburg. All the Russian armies had marched off against the Turks. At the first moment of surprise the Empress could send no more than some invalids and a few detachments of her guards to the relief of Fredericksham. No doubt was entertained that Gustavus would possess himself of that city, and come forward to besiege the capital. Catharine was alarmed, but

* According to the Swedish constitution, the King cannot attack a foreign power without the consent of the diet.—The Russians pretend that Gustavus III. disguised the boors of Finland as Russian soldiers, and consequently caused his own subjects to be killed, in order to secure a pretence for entering the Russian territory.

always preserved the appearance of consummate tranquillity. The French Ambassador, just at that time entering the palace, the Empress asked him, what news were abroad? 'That you are about to depart for Moscow, Madam,' said he.—'You did not believe it?' she immediately answered. 'I have ordered a great number of post-horses to be kept in readiness; but it is for the intent of bringing soldiers and cannons.'

She in effect brought together the few troops that were dispersed among the nearest garrisons, and sent them into Finland to join the detachments that were already assembled. The command of this incomplete army was confided to Mouschin-Pouskin; an inexperienced General; whose reputation was ill calculated to calm the minds of the people of Petersburg.

The Empress hastily put forth a declaration, in which she complained of the King of Sweden's behaviour, and of the necessity to which she was reduced of arming against him; she artfully dissembled the weakness of her troops in Finland; and said, on the contrary, that the garrisons had been reinforced, from a motive of precaution, long prior to the aggression of the Swedes.

She, at the same time, commanded Baron Nolken, the Swedish Minister, to quit the Russian empire.

The Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, six frigates, and several corvettes, ventured to parade off Cronstadt, and repeatedly bid defiance to the Russian squadron. That squadron was under sailing orders for the Mediterranean. The Swedish armament had, however, occasioned a change of their destination. The Admiral received orders to get under weigh, but a singular incident prevented his compliance.

The Empress had given the command of a ship to an English renegado, of the name of Paul Jones, * who had distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the American war. The British officers, employed in the Russian service, had not been informed of, and, much to their honour, felt their pride hurt at his introduction among them. They looked upon Paul Jones as a traitor, and accordingly repaired to the President of the Admiralty, and unanimously avowed their intention to quit a squadron wherein this pirate was retained.

The Empress being informed of this affair, and seeing that seven or eight of her men of war were likely to be deprived of officers, concealed her resentment, and withdrew Paul Jones from the squadron. To keep up the appearance of not yielding to circumstances, she feigned an excuse of employing his services on the Black Sea, and ordered him to join Potemkin: but, apprehensive lest the officers in the Euxine should imitate the conduct of those at Cronstadt, she contrived to get rid of this daring adventurer altogether. This matter being terminated, the Russian squadron, commanded by Admiral Greig, put to sea, and the battle of Hogland immediately ensued: but to which of the hostile fleets the palm of victory was due, remains still in doubt.

Gustavus then proposed terms of accommodation with the Empress, the conditions of which were repugnant to the pride of her Majesty. He demanded that Count Razumoffsky should be exemplarily punished for the intrigues and machinations of which he had been the author at

* He formerly lived in the Earl of Selkirk's family in Scotland, whose house he plundered after he turned pirate.

Stockholm ; that the part of Finland and of Karelia, ceded to Russia by the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, should be restored to Sweden ; that the Court of Petersburg should make peace with the Porte, under the mediation of Sweden ; who would propose to re-establish the independence of the Krimea ; pursuant to the treaty of Kainardgi ; and in case of a refusal, should fix the limits, such as they were in 1768. He farther insisted that Russia should immediately disarm ; but that Sweden should not, until after the conclusion of the treaty.

‘ What language ! ’ exclaimed Catharine. ‘ Though the King of Sweden were already at Moscow, I should then shew him what a woman like me is capable of doing, even upon the ruins of a mighty empire.’

Instead of replying to the proposals of Gustavus, the Empress recalled General Mikelson, who was fighting against the Turks ; gave him the command of her army in Finland, and reinforced that army with twenty thousand men. Besides, she reckoned on the defection of the King of Sweden’s officers ; and they soon evinced that she was not mistaken.

Gustavus was already at no great distance from Fredericksham. A part of his troops he had embarked on board of gallies, giving orders to General Siegeroth, who had the command of them, to make a landing on the other side of the town, to begin the attack as soon as the troops were on shore, and to fire a cannon, by way of signal, for a mutual co-operation at once.

Siegeroth was retarded by contrary winds, and with great difficulty landed his troops. But he effected his purpose notwithstanding, and gave the appointed signal. Immediately Gustavus re-

solved to lead his men forwards: but some of the principal officers, at the head of whom was Colonel Hesteko, represented to him the difficulty of attacking the fortress on the side where he was; that their duty allowed them not to suffer his Majesty to expose his person to inevitable danger; and that he himself ought to value, in some degree, the lives of his faithful subjects.

This was not, indeed, the language held by the conquerors of Narva: but Gustavus III. bore no resemblance to Charles XII. However astonished at the language of his officers, he replied that he would be obeyed. Upon this, several of them united in declaring that they could not undertake an offensive war without the consent of the nation; that they were ready to spill their blood in defence of their country; but that they would never resolve to attack a neighbour by whom they were not provoked.

Disconsolate with this resistance, the King then addressed himself to the soldiers. The regiment commanded by Colonel Hesteko immediately laid down their arms, and the greater part of the army followed their example. Gustavus charged Lieutenant Colonel Rosenstein to go and tell General Seigeroth, to re-imbark his troops; he himself retreated to Kymenagorod. The next day such officers as had refused to march were put on board a ship, and sent to Stockholm; where they met with a reception that marked the popular displeasure; they were instantly put under arrest.

It is by no means doubtful that the nobles, who regretted the change in the ancient form of government, wished to avail themselves of this opportunity for its re-establishment, and that they

acted in concert with Russia.* But a number of other officers, whom they had gained over, were not admitted to the secret; the soldiers especially could not be made acquainted with it.

The defection of the Swedes was of more consequence than a victory to Catharine. Not contented with this advantage, she, conformably with the treaties subsisting between Russia and Denmark, claimed the succours she had a right to demand against the Swedes. Though wisely inimical to war, the Court of Copenhagen evinced fidelity to her engagements. She ordered a squadron to be equipped; and the Prince Royal, accompanied by Prince Charles of Hesse, † embarked, in order to proceed to Norway, and put themselves at the head of the troops.

The Norwegians, a nation of simplicity of manners and generosity of sentiment, who retain, amidst their rocks, the purity of ancient manners, and that valour which rendered them so famous under Margaret of Waldemar; the Norwegians, whose lofty stature, flaxen locks, and venerable beards, still call to mind the recollection of their fathers; those heroes, who so often conquered England, and merited the honour of being celebrated by Ossian; the Norwegians heard not in vain the sound of battle. At the voice of the Prince of Denmark, they rushed through the straight, ‡ ensanguined by the

* Letters were almost immediately intercepted of a correspondence which subsisted between some of the principal officers and the Court of Russia.

† The Prince of Hesse is father-in-law to the Prince of Denmark.

‡ Near Frederickshall. We cannot help observing in this place, that it is no longer a matter of doubt in Sweden that Charles XII. was assassinated. An officer of the name of

blood of Charles XII. entered the western provinces of Sweden, forced, at Quistum, a part of the regiment of Westrogothia to capitulate, took possession of Oudewalla, and of all the other places that fell in their way; and proceeded to lay siege to Gothenburg.

Gothenburg, next to Stockholm, is the most considerable city of Sweden. The loss of that to Gustavus would have been almost irreparable. The King was already returned to his capital, when he learnt that Gothenburg was besieged. Upon this intelligence he sent the regiment of Yemland and his own guards to reinforce the garrison, and repaired in person to Dalecarlia. There he assembled the peasantry, reminded them of their exploits for Gustavus Vasa, and conjured them to march with him to the defence of their country.

Three thousand Dalecarlians eagerly followed his Majesty. The inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces imitated their example, and Gustavus soon found himself at the head of a numerous army: but, apprehensive lest Gothenburg should surrender before these succours arrived, he departed with one of his Aides de-camp, attended by a single domestic, assumed a disguise, to avoid being known by the enemy, and penetrated as far as the walls of the city. It was with great difficulty that he gained admittance into the gates. The soldiers would not believe that it was their King: but at length the gates were opened for his reception.

Notwithstanding his presence, notwithstanding the army that followed him, Gothenburg

Cronsted, who died at a very advanced age, declared that he himself killed Charles XII. at the instigation of that Monarch's brother-in-law.

would have fallen in the hands of the enemy. But the arrival of unexpected succours averted the blow, and saved the city.

Mr. Elliot,* the English Minister at Denmark, was no sooner informed that Gothenburg was threatened, than he quitted Copenhagen, rapidly traversed Sweden, and repaired to the camp of the Danish Prince. He summoned that Prince to raise the siege of Gothenburg, declaring at the same time, that unless he evacuated the Swedish territory without delay, England would lay an embargo on all the Danish ships in her ports, and dispatch a squadron to bombard the castle of Cronsburg.

The Prince of Denmark, stopped by these menaces, immediately thought of retiring, when the Prussian Minister came, and seconded that of England. A truce was instantly concluded; and the army of the Danish Prince peaceably returned to Norway. It was most assuredly to the manly conduct and spirited activity of Mr. Elliot that Gustavus was indebted for the preservation of Gothenburg. The threats held out by that Minister had not been prescribed him; but they succeeded; and his Court failed not to applaud its Envoy.

In the mean time the Russian forces that fought against the Turks and Tartars gained frequent advantages. The fleet of the Euxine fell in with that of the Capudan Pacha, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, and obliged him to fly. Some little time afterwards, the Prince of Nassau Siegen, commanding a fleet of armed boats off Nicolaëff, attacked the Turkish squadron which had entered the Liman, burnt three of their

* Now Lord Minto, who has since been at Toulon, and was afterwards made Viceroy of Corsica.

ships, and captured several others. Prince Nassau displayed great bravery in this action; but for his victory he was chiefly indebted to the talents of Captain Fanshaw, an English officer, with two French officers, Varage and Verbois, * but above all to the Dutch Captain Winter.

Here it was displayed what courage national pride can inspire, even in the breast of slaves. When the Capudan Pacha's ship caught fire, a Turkish sailor ran through the flames to save the flag; and while he was untying it, a Russian sailor, not less intrepid, jumped into a canoe, went on board the ship ready to blow up, carried away the flag, and brought the Turk with him prisoner.

The Generals Talesyn and Tekely defeated the Tartars of the Kuban in several skirmishes. Tamara had already made himself master of Georgia, and subjected the Lesghis. A body of Russians, united to a detachment of the Austrian army, took possession of Khoczim. Repnin, Soltikoff, Souwaroff, and Kamenskoi, repeatedly beat the Turks, who avenged themselves on the Austrians.

Potemkin had now for some time laid siege to Oczakoff. Fortifications apparently impregnable, ammunition in great abundance, a numerous garrison, and the rigour of the season, seemed to baffle every attempt upon this place. The besiegers suffered so much from cold, that they were necessitated to dig subterraneous huts in order to shelter themselves from its severity: reduced to a want of provisions, each night brought upon them great desolation. But the frost, which they had resisted with so much per-

* Verbois afterwards perished in a vessel that blew up in the road before Oczakoff.

severance and trouble, aided them in taking the town. It was observed to lie open to attack on the side of the Liman, where the works appeared less formidable, and to which the ice facilitated access. Potemkin on a sudden issued orders to carry it by assault; and, while he remained in camp with his mistresses, his Lieutenants, at the head of a detachment of troops, penetrated the town, and spread carnage and desolation. We must not, however, attribute this conduct in Potemkin to a principle of cowardice; for several preceding days he was seen to walk with the utmost composure under the very cannon of the ramparts;* because he had learnt that some dared to suspect his courage. He absented himself from the assault of Oczakoff merely because he did not think it presented him with an opportunity of distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner.

Prince Anhalt-Bernburg did not imitate Potemkin's conduct. He was the first to enter the town, at the head of the grenadiers † and chasseurs. The fight, both on the ramparts and in the streets, was long and terrible. The Turkish soldiers defended themselves with obstinate bravery; and almost all of them perished with their weapons in their hands. The rest were put to the sword; and a great part of the inhabitants experienced the same fate.

* It is related, that in one of these walks, a general officer, who accompanied him, had his thigh shot off by a cannon bullet, and suffered some cries to escape him. 'What do you cry for?' said Potemkin, coldly. The officer remained silent from respect. He died the next day.

† Prince Potemkin had created a body of 40,000 grenadiers and the same number of chasseurs. He must always be in extremes.

The Russians delivered up the town to sack. They entered all the houses, put the masters of them to death, carried off their most valuable effects, and abandoned themselves to all the horrors of plunder, debauchery, and rapine. For three whole days together, Potemkin suffered this sanguinary scene to last, which cost the lives of more than 25,000 Turks. In making the assault, the Russians lost 12,000 men.

1789 These conquests were almost as fatal to the victors as to the vanquished: but Catharine's ardour for continuing the war was unabated. She ordered a fresh levy of troops throughout the whole extent of her dominions; she at once had it in view to re-inforce her armies in the Crimea and on the banks of the Danube, to station others in Poland, and to march a formidable force against the Swedes. But men grew scarce in the Russian empire: on which account a part of the exiles were brought from the desarts of Siberia, and incorporated with the recruits.

During all this time Gustavus III. meditated schemes of revenge. He could not pardon the Empress for the dissensions which her agents were unceasingly fomenting in Sweden, nor the Danish government for the support it had afforded Russia. A Lieutenant-Colonel, named Benzelstierna, determined to feed his master's animosity.

The Russian squadron had entered the road of Copenhagen, where it was detained by the ice the whole winter. Sprengporten, the Swedish Ambassador, was a frank and generous old man, much respected by Gustavus, but in whom he had no great confidence. Without recalling this Ambassador, his Majesty conferred the title of *Chargé des Affaires* on a person named Abeldyl,

and sent him to Copenhagen, recommending it to him to observe with vigilance the proceedings in Russia and Denmark.

Benzelstierna lost no time in joining Abeldyl. Under pretence of making a speculation in commerce, he connected himself with one Captain O'Brien, a native of Ireland. Of him he purchased his ship, paying 12,000 rix-dollars in advance;* he gave him the command of the vessel, and entered into a written engagement to pay him a like sum, provided his enterprize should succeed. He then freighted the vessel with casks well pitched within and without, and filled with brandy; and ordered him to take advantage of the first north-east wind to sail from the port and set fire to his ship. By this execrable project was intended, not only the destruction of the Russian fleet, but that of the Danes likewise.

O'Brien indiscretely ventured to speak of his agreement to one of his friends named Test. This man, struck with horror at what he heard, eagerly revealed the secret. The Danish government immediately caused the vessel to be searched, and had O'Brien taken into custody. Benzelstierna had fled for safety to Abeldyl, who sent him to the house of a Minister of his acquaintance; whence they enabled him to make his escape, disguised in the livery of a domestic.

The Danish sailors, excited by the Russians,† assembled in great numbers before the door of Abeldyl. Their intention was to have murdered him, and fired his house. But, Abeldyl having foreseen this tumult, had already taken

* About 50,000 livres, or 3000l. sterling.

† It is confidently reported, that Krudena, the Russian Ambassador, a man of a most violent temper, was seen in the midst of the mob, disguised in a sailor's habit.

refuge on the coasts of Scania. * A detachment of the military dispersed the rioters.

The attempt of Benzelstierna was not calculated to bring about a reconciliation between the Courts of Petersburg and Stockholm. Warlike operations were instantly resumed. The fleets of the two nations met at the height of Bornholm: but the wind permitted them not to engage.

The Swedes had fitted out a fleet of gallies

* The project of setting fire to the men of war in the harbour of Copenhagen was, doubtless, horrible. But, perhaps, the Russians had nothing to reproach the Swedes with. These two nations, who have often contended with so much valour, have sometimes seen their Courts descend to use the vilest stratagems against each other. Stockholm will never forget the assassination of Major Saint-Clair.

In 1738, Saint-Clair, who had been sent to Constantinople with powers for negotiating, was, upon his return, accompanied by a Frenchman named Couturier. Being arrived at Choczim, the Pacha informed him, that he was laid wait for by Russian emissaries: a Pole gave him the same intelligence. Saint-Clair rejected the information with disdain. At an inn in Breslau he met the Russian, Captain Kutler, Lieutenant Lewitzki, and four soldiers disguised as servants, who, after having recognized him, went and waited for him near the village Zauche. There Kutler came up to him, accosted him with politeness, and asked whether he was not Major Saint-Clair? Upon his answering in the affirmative, he arrested him in the name of the Empress Anne, and conducted him into a wood near Neuburg; where he made him alight from his carriage, led him about twenty paces from it, discharged a pistol at him, and, on his being wounded, caused him to be dispatched by the four soldiers. During this time, Lewitzki, who guarded Couturier, coldly said to him: '*Ne timeas; peccatum esset contra spiritum sanctum malefacere viro probo sicut, tibi. Iste habuit quod merebat: erat inimicus magistri. Inimicus magistri est inimicus Dei; et puto me non peccasse interficiendo eum.*' The assassins then divided the effects of the two travellers between them, and carried Couturier into the forest of Sonnestein; whence he was not liberated until he was assured that, if he ever uttered a word of the assassination of Saint-Clair, they would know how to seize, and punish him, wherever he should be.

and gun-boats. The Empress opposed to them another, the command of which she gave to the Prince of Nassau, who^{*} having had some differences with Prince Potemkin,^{*} could no longer serve on the Euxine.

The Russian gallies surprised the Swedish gallies near Rogensalm; and Prince Nassau, always aided by the counsels of Varage,[†] of Winter, and the Chevalier de Litta,[‡] a Milanese, once more gained a triumph for the Russian flag. Winter, to whom the success of this day was principally owing, was struck by a cannon-ball, and died of his wound.

During the engagement between the galley-fleets, the Russians had attacked the Swedish army, ever remaining in the neighbourhood of Fredericksham. Their advantages by land were equally successful with those by sea. They forced the troops of Gustavus to evacuate Russian Finland.

His Majesty having collected fresh reinforcements, prepared to enter the Russian territory a second time. but Catharine had had time to make her defensive preparations. The two armies came to battle; and the Russians, commanded by General Numsen,[§] were victorious.

These defeats did not, however, subdue the¹⁷⁹⁰ courage of Gustavus. He went in person on board the galley fleet, and sailed in quest of the

* They were reconciled afterwards.

† Some time after this engagement, Varage was killed by some Kosacs, with whom he had a quarrel.

‡ The Chevalier de Litta, a Milanese, Commander of the Order of Malta, is Vice-Admiral of the galley-fleet. It is said, that he furnished many plans, which are still un-executed.

§ General Numsen is a Dane, and has been long employed in the Russian service.

Prince of Nassau; from whom he captured thirty vessels. Not long after he landed, at the distance of five miles from Petersburg, several battalions of infantry and some squadrons of light troops. The capital was a second time thrown into consternation. The Empress was at Czarsko Zelo, and never quitted that country-palace.

The Swedish grand fleet, commanded by the Duke of Sudermania, attempted to pursue the Russian squadron into the port of Reval. This imprudence cost them two of their ships. But the Swedes committed a greater mistake, and one attended with more imminent danger. They conducted into the Gulph of Viborg both their squadron of men of war and the galley-fleet which Gustavus III. commanded. Every thing conspired to threaten the entire destruction of the Swedish navy: but it was saved by two Russian Admirals, Tschitschagoff and the Prince of Nassau.

Admiral Tschitschagoff, commanding a fleet far more numerous than that of the Swedes, neglected to fortify with batteries the only two passages through which alone it was possible for the them to escape. The latter, who were in want of provisions, and could no longer remain in the Gulf, attempted to force their way out, by setting fire to the Russian squadron that blockaded the passage. The wind was favourable. The Swedes got under weigh, and sent a fire-ship to lead the van, in order to oblige the Russians to disperse.* But the fire-ship struck upon a sand-

* The inventor of this stratagem was Sir Sidney Smith, at that time with the King of Sweden. He has since distinguished his bravery, in the destruction of the French fleet at Toulon. In another exploit he fell into the hands of the

bank, and did no harm to the Russians; while it set fire to several of the Swedish ships, which the wind drove towards it with great violence. Nine ships of the line, three frigates, and more than twenty gallies fell into the hands of the Russians.

The remainder of the Swedish gallies retreated behind the rocks of Schwenk-sund; which form several petty isles on the water's surface. The Prince of Nassau, whose fleet was twice as strong as that of Gustavus, advanced to give him battle. His want of skill gave the Swedes an immense advantage over him; he was completely beaten, and lost the half of his fleet, with more than 10,000 men. His vanity, however, was undiminished. Imagining that the mariners, whom he commanded, had suffered themselves to be vanquished on purpose to sully his glory, he wrote to the Empress:—‘ Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight against the elements, the Swedes, and the Russians. I hope that your Majesty will do me justice.’

The Empress returned him for answer: ‘ You are in the right, because I am resolved that you shall have it. This is highly aristocratic; but it is suitable to the country in which we live. Rely always on your affectionate

CATHARINE.’ *

The battle of Schwenk-sund accelerated a peace. Gustavus III. now saw the imprudence of his conduct. He no longer indulged the hope

French, from whose hands, after enduring numerous hardships, he fortunately made his escape.

* The Empress had conferred on Prince Nassau the rank of Admiral of the galley-fleet of the Baltic, an estate in land with 4000 peasants upon it, a palace, and a pension of 12,000 roubles. All this, however, did not prevent him quitting the service of Russia for that of Prussia.

that the war which he had declared against the Russians might be attended with any great success, and make a useful diversion in favour of the Turks. On the contrary, he was apprehensive lest the Russians might take advantage of the destruction of his navy, the dilapidated state of his finances, and the discontent of the Swedish nobles, to invade his dominions. He therefore hesitated not to accept such terms as were offered him by her Imperial Majesty.

Galvez, the Spanish Minister at the Court of Petersburg, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealously endeavoured to procure favourable conditions; by promising that Gustavus should directly march against the French. This was all that the Empress desired. She feigned to pardon her enemy, in hopes of seeing him overwhelmed in a distant enterprize. To blind him more effectually, she assumed the veil of fictitious generosity. She required nothing more than the re-establishment of the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, and a total oblivion of the recent hostilities. In consequence of which the treaty was signed, without delay, at Varela.*

During the war of Finland, Catharine at once displayed her clement disposition and the severity of her mind. Some Swedish officers, employed in quality of tutors to the cadet corps at Petersburg, ventured to carry on a correspondence with their countrymen; in which they spoke of the Empress with great freedom; though, doubtless, with great truth. Their letters were intercepted, and carried to her Majesty, who read them through. The Swedes were immediately arrested, and examined by Stepan-Iwanowitz

* The 14th of August. General Igælstroëm signed for Russia, and General Armfeld for Sweden.

Schischkoffsky,* President of the Secret Commission, and by an amiable military officer, whom the Empress joined with him in order to moderate his ferocious disposition. The offence was proved, and the culprits appeared to merit death. The Empress, however, was satisfied with banishing them into her interior provinces. She continued them in their appointments; and, on the return of peace, she sent them back to their own country.

At the same time Radischeff, a Commissioner of the Customs at Petersburg, published a narration, descriptive of a journey from Petersburg to Moscow; in which he feigned to have had a dream, and painted in glowing colours the despotism of Potemkin. He dared even to attack the Empress. Though Radischeff had himself printed the narrative with the types at his own lodgings, he was, notwithstanding all his precaution, presently discovered, and banished to Siberia.

Count Alexander Woronzoff, and Princess Daschkoff, his sister, the known patrons of Radischeff, were accused of having urged him to compose this publication. The former was even exposed to the examination of the Secret Commission; and, from that moment, both lost much of their wonted consequence.

Thus Catharine treated the Swedes with a pretended generosity, because she was desirous of gaining partizans in Sweden; while she knew how sometimes to assume an aspect of terror towards the nation already in subjection to her yoke.

* If we were to believe in the Metempsychosis, one might imagine that the soul of the caustic and barbarous St. Dominic had passed into the body of Stepan Iwanowitz Schischkoffsky.

But the war of Russia with Sweden has arrested our attention from that which she carried on likewise against the Ottoman Porte. To this we shall now return. The Grand Signor, Abdul Ahmed IV. was dead,* and the son of Sultan Mustapha, his brother and predecessor, had ascended the throne, under the title of Selim III.†

The capture of Oczakoff, and the successes by which it had been preceded, were magnificently recompensed. Catharine presented Potemkin with 100,000 roubles, and a Marshal's truncheon, set round with diamonds, and entwined with a laurel branch, of which the leaves were gold. Shortly afterwards she conferred on him the title of Hetman of the Cosacs; just become vacant by the death of the aged Cyril Razumoffsky. Her Majesty gave Prince Repnin a sword, the hilt whereof was adorned with brilliants; to General Souwaroff she presented a plume of diamonds.‡ The other Generals and officers obtained also some mark of favour; and all the soldiers who had entered Oczakoff received a silver medal, with a recommendation to wear it at the button hole.

Doubtless these rewards excited in the Russian armies a great spirit of emulation. All their steps were marked by triumphs. Potemkin reduced the Isle of Beresan.¶ Repnin drove the Turks from the borders of the Solska. Souwa-

* He died in the spring of 1789.

† Selim III. was then twenty-eight years old.

‡ This present made to Marshal Souwaroff must have appeared so much the more strange, as, in order to gain the affection of the soldiers, he affected great simplicity and coarse politeness. He was sometimes seen to take off his shirt in the midst of the Cosacs, and hold it to the fire, saying, that it was the best way to kill the vermin.

¶ In 1789.

roff completely beat them at Foksan.* Hearing afterwards that the Austrian army, commanded by the Prince of Saxe Coburg, was pressed hard by that of the Grand Vizir, he put himself at the head of 8000 Russians, and fled to assist the former. These, to the number of 30,000, were already put to the rout by the Turks, who had attacked them with an army of 100,000 men. The intrepid Souwaroff came up, and changed the fortune of arms. 'Friends!' cried he to his soldiers, 'look not at the eyes of your enemies. Regard their breasts: it is there that you must thrust your bayonets.' And, at that instant, he fell upon the Turks, routed them with horrible carnage, and remained master of the field of battle. This victory, gained near the river Rimniks, procured Souwaroff the surname of Rimniksky, and the double title of Count of the Holy Roman and of the Russian empires.

Some time after the same General took possession of Toutoukay,† in Bulgaria. The ferocious Kamenskoi ‡ reduced to ashes the superb town of Galatza, situate on the Danube; and, after Yassi, the first in all Moldavia; which it surpassed in point of commerce. Ackerman, Chedchey, Belgorod, Palanka, submitted to the

* The 21st of July, 1789.

† Not less singular than brave, Souwaroff wrote four lines to the Empress, in Russian verse, which signified, 'Glory to God! Praise to Catharine! Toutoukay is taken! Souwaroff has entered it!'

‡ General Kamenskoi was so cruel that Potemkin would not leave him the command of the army. Every place he took he consigned to plunder, and then to the flames. He particularly directed his malice against priests, whom he harnessed like so many horses to the baggage-waggons of the army. The Jews were also objects of his fury. These he martyred, by stripping them naked in the depth of winter, and by pouring cold water upon their heads.

arms of Potemkin. Bender surrendered at discretion.

Ismail still held out. Potemkin had laid siege to this place for seven months, and grew impatient that he had not yet reduced it. Living in his camp like one of those ancient Satraps, whom he alone, in our days, has equalled, and perhaps surpassed, in luxury; he was surrounded by a multitude of courtiers and a crowd of females, who were studious to afford him amusement. One of these women,* pretending to read the decrees of fate in the arrangement of a pack of cards, predicted that he would take the besieged town at the end of three weeks. Potemkin answered, smiling, that he had a method of divination far more certain. At that instant he sent orders to Souwaroff to take Ismail within three days. Souwaroff prepared. The third day he formed his soldiers in line of battle, and said to them: 'My brothers, no quarter! Provisions are dear!' and immediately began the assault. The Russians were twice repulsed with great loss. But at last they scaled the ramparts, penetrated into the town, and with the sword bore down all opposition. Fifteen thousand Russians and thirty-five thousand Turks purchased, with their lives, the bloody laurels of Souwaroff. That General then wrote to the Empress these words alone: 'The haughty Ismail is at your feet.'

The famous Hassan, who, from the post of Capudan-Pacha, had been elevated to that of Grand Vizir, unable to bear up against this accumulation of disasters, died of vexation in his camp. His successor was decapitated at Schumla; and the Pacha Youssouf filled his place. But this change did not re-establish the fortune of the Turks.

* Madame de Witt.

Several French officers fought at the capture of Ismail. Roger Damas, Langeron, and the younger Fronsac, distinguished themselves for bravery; but were passed over unnoticed for it by Potemkin. Some days afterwards, the latter, discoursing of the French revolution, and regarding as a crime the efforts of the people to regain their liberty, said to Langeron: 'Colonel,* your countrymen are mad. I should need only my grooms to bring them back to their senses.' Langeron, who, though an emigrant, could not patiently bear this opprobrium reflecting on his nation, boldly answered: 'Prince, I do not think you would be able to accomplish it with your whole army.' At these words Potemkin started up in a rage, and threatened Langeron to send him to Siberia.† Langeron instantly departed; and, crossing the Sereth, which divides Moldavia from Walachia, went over to the Austrian camp.

Catharine, upon hearing of her triumphant arms, felt her pride elated. Sir Charles Whitworth, the English Minister, appearing before her Majesty at Court, she said to him, with an ironical smile, 'Sir, since the King, your master, is determined to drive me out of Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople.'

Potemkin hastened back to Petersburg, there

* Langeron had formerly been Colonel in the regiment of Armagnac.

† We have observed in another place that Potemkin was extremely irascible, and that he was sometimes so far transported with passion as to strike even General-Officers: he one day gave a box on the ear to a foreigner, who was a Major in the Russian service, for having praised, in a few verses, the mistress of his Secretary Popoff in the same line with that of the despot himself.

to enjoy the fruits of his triumph. He was received by the Empress with transports of joy. Festivities and presents were lavished upon him. She gave him a palace estimated at 600,000 roubles, and a coat, embroidered with diamonds, which cost 200,000. He himself displayed a pomp which appeared excessive in a Court, of all others in Europe, the most extravagantly splendid.*

But he soon after quitted the capital, in order to return to his army. Satiated with pomp and grandeur, triumphs and pleasures, he grew restless wherever he went. A fatal presentiment seemed to haunt his steps. He was neither satisfied with the flatteries of courtiers, with the accumulated bounties of his Sovereign, nor even with the approbation of himself. The presence of the new favourite, in an especial manner, irritated his feelings.

This favourite was Plato Zouboff. Objects more important have hitherto prevented our noticing him. We will now briefly state the cause of his elevation, and the disgrace of his predecessor.

Momonoff was well beloved by the Empress; but he returned her affection with indifference.

* The expence of his table alone, on ordinary days, was 800 roubles: it was covered with dainties the most exquisite, and fruits the most rare. He ordered the cherries to be got in the depth of winter, for which he paid a rouble each. At the entertainment which he gave the Empress, he caused a profusion of money to be thrown among the people. Never did any Sovereign display greater luxury. From an odd singularity, this man, so generously munificent, rarely paid his debts. When any one presented himself to request the discharge of his bill, he said to Popoff, his Private Secretary, 'Why don't you pay this man?' and, by a sign, he gave him to understand in what manner the creditor was to be paid. If he clenched his hand, Popoff gave the man the money; if he opened it, the poor fellow was sent to Siberia.

He lived with her in the manner of a slave, the weight of whose chains were not the less sensibly felt because they were gold; and not as a lover, flattered with the hope of pleasing. His heart, however, was not closed to the sweets of love. Among the number of her maids of honour, Catharine had the daughter of Prince Scherbatoff, a young lady of beauty and wit; of a disposition much inclined to gallantry. Momonoff was soon smitten by her charms, and became, in return, the object of her regard. But his passion had not as yet passed the bounds of respect; when one day he heard Potemkin extol the charms of Princess Scherbatoff. Momonoff trembled with jealousy. He knew Potemkin's unlimited power; he knew that this man had only to form a desire, and the gratification of it was within his grasp: he therefore resolved to throw himself at the feet of Princess Scherbatoff, and impart to her the cause of his uneasiness. For his encouragement she granted him what he was afraid of seeing possessed by his rival; shortly after he had fresh cause to indulge tranquillity: Potemkin set out for the field.

This intrigue was carried on a long time. All the Court knew of its existence. Catharine alone perceived nothing of it. At length, however, the jealousy of some of the courtiers, opened her eyes; she was informed that Momonoff deceived her confidence, the truth of which assertion she soon discovered. However offended at this discovery, she dissembled her anger. This happened during the summer of 1789. The Court was at Czarsko-zelo; and the daughter of Count Bruce, one of the richest heiresses of the empire, had just been presented.

Catharine, seizing this opportunity, said to Momonoff, that she intended marrying him to

the young Countess * Bruce. Momonoff supplicated her not to insist upon it. The Empress desired to know the reason of his refusal? He felt embarrassed: she insisted; and he fell at her feet, confessing that he had plighted his honour to Princess Scherbatoff. The Empress wanted no farther explanation: the two lovers were married the next day, and retired to Moscow.

Momonoff was bound to be grateful for her Majesty's generosity, and the extreme moderation she had always shewn towards him. But it was reported that he had imprudently revealed to his wife the particulars of his secret interviews with the Empress, and that she divulged them with a levity offensive to the Sovereign. It was added, that Catharine revenged the indiscretion in a shocking manner. When Momonoff and his lady were retired to rest, the Master of the Police at Moscow entered their apartment; and, after having shewn her Majesty's order, he left them in the hands of six women, and retired to an adjoining chamber. Then the six women, or rather the six men in female attire, seized the prating lady, and having stripped her naked, flogged her with rods in the presence of Momonoff, whom they forced to kneel down during the ceremony. When the chastisement was inflicted, the Police-Master entered the room again, and said, 'This is the way the Empress punishes a first indiscretion. For the second you will be sent into Siberia.'

The very day of Momonoff's nuptials the post of favourite was conferred on Plato Zouboff, an officer in the horse-guards. Potemkin heard with much concern that the choice of Catharine

* In Russia, and in all the North, the young ladies bear the same title with their parents.

had fallen on Zouboff. He wrote to her Majesty on the subject, and used every argument to induce a change of her lover. But, from the first day of his elevation, Zouboff had so captivated her heart that he was in no dread of a rival. The Empress wrote to Potemkin, that so long as she had no just reason to complain of Zouboff, she should not dismiss him. Notwithstanding this, Potemkin still continued his importunities. 'When you see the Empress,' said he, to one of the couriers, who carried his dispatches, 'observe to her that I have teeth which pain me exceedingly, and that I shall not be easy till I have got rid of them.' It was a miserable pun: the name Zouboff, in Russe, signifies teeth.

The death of the Emperor, Joseph II. * had left Catharine reduced to her own forces alone to contend with the Ottomans. Leopold II. yielding to the solicitations of Prussia, and still more to the exigencies of his people, who sunk under the weight of an unjust and unfortunate war, was eager to break off from Russia, and to conclude a separate peace with the Porte.

It was no longer Frederick II. that reigned in Prussia. Five years had now elapsed since he terminated his long and brilliant career. † Endowed with resolution of character and a flexibility of mind, he had improved them both by study and reflection. From history he learnt those lessons which rendered him at once a profound politician and an able general; his frequent intercourse with philosophers and men of superior genius, had raised him to the rank of a distinguished author. While he was Prince Royal

* Joseph II. died the 20th of February, 1790.

† Frederick II. died the 17th of August, 1786.

only, he seemed emulous of the fame of the Antonines or of a Marcus Aurelius: but was scarcely seated on the throne when he took for his models an Alexander and a Philip. Rising victorious from a war which had threatened him with ruin, he extended the limits of his dominions, and on the secondary power which he inherited by descent he raised one of the most authoritative sceptres in Europe. To the titles of politician and conqueror, that of legislator he acquired with justice. The code which bears his name merited, in many respects, the gratitude of his subjects. Disdaining luxury from inclination, and fearful of it from œconomy, his pride was founded on the number of his soldiers. Laborious, vigilant, indefatigable, his mind was occupied, to the last moment of his life, in the administration of his kingdom: but at the same time he shewed himself more jealous of establishing his authority, and of the prosperity of Prussia, than of the happiness of the Prussians. Did he himself live happily? It may be answered in the negative, since he was neither husband, * lover, nor father, and often suffered himself to be governed by two cruel passions, avarice and ambition. He longed for the surname of Great: that he obtained from the age in which he lived, and doubtless posterity will confirm the boon.

But though Frederick II. ceased to exist, the same spirit still directed the Cabinet of Berlin. Some time before Leopold made peace with the Turks, Frederick William had signed a treaty with them. Thus, Catharine lost a defender, and found herself exposed to the approaching opposition of a new enemy. That enemy did

* It is well known, that, though he was married, he never cohabited with his wife.

not draw his sword against her; but this, by no means, pacified her irritation. He took advantage of the discontents in Poland, in order to gain among the people a considerable influence. He leagued himself to them by a new treaty. Under pretence of defending the Poles he marched his troops into their territory; and, what, perhaps, Russia felt with keener sensibility, he took possession of the cities of Thorn and Dantzic.

The Empress now saw that her victories were ruinous, and that distant conquests might occasion the loss of those provinces which she possessed in Poland. In a word, she felt the necessity of securing a peace. But to sue for that, her pride felt repugnant. She chose rather to continue fighting.

Her armies were still successful. Koutousoff beat the combined armies of the Turks and Tartars: Repnin, at the head of 25,000 men, routed 70,000 Ottomans, whom he met near Makzin: Ghoudowitch, brother of him who had formerly been favourite of Peter III. made himself master of the fortresses of Soudjouk-Kale and of Anapa, upon the frontiers of the Krimea and the Kuban; and took 14,000 prisoners; of which number was the Scheik-Mansour, the pretended prophet, whom we have already mentioned.

Great Britain, who, in order to revenge herself for the alliance made between France and Russia, had excited the Turks to declare war against the latter power, and had vainly lavished on them her assistance, in arms, ammunition, and counsel; Great Britain resolved to seize the moment when the Court of Petersburg was detaching itself from that of France, to engage it in a fresh connection with herself.

After having apprised of her design the Cabinets of Berlin and of the Hague, who acted in concert with her from the commencement of the war; she eagerly proposed her mediation to the Empress, on condition that in making peace, that Princess should consent to restore her conquests, and to take as the basis of the new arrangements the treaty of Kainardgi.

The Court of London, therefore, sent to Petersburg Mr. Fawkener, Secretary to the English Privy-Council, and charged him with two propositions; of which, the one most favourable to Russia was not to be developed, in case the other should not be accepted. Fawkener was devoid of abilities: but Catharine was far above his match. Whether that Princess had been secretly informed by her emissaries, that the British agent had the power to make her a double proposition, or whether it was her own surmise, she resolved to take advantage of it. Determined on concluding a peace with the Turks, whatever it might cost, in order to give her armies an opportunity of falling back into Poland, she received Mr. Fawkener with extreme affability. She admitted him to her table at Czarsko-zelo, placed him opposite her, discoursed with him all dinner-time, still continued her conversation after dinner, artfully by turns inspired him with the apprehension of the failure of his negociation, and the hopes of its successful issue; and, at length so completely entangled him, that he wanted courage to propose any but the most advantageous conditions.

Being made acquainted with the dispositions of England, the Empress caused a memorial to be delivered to the Danish Minister, prevailing upon him to negotiate the preliminaries of peace

with the Cabinets of Berlin, of London, and of the Hague.

Count Bernstorff was worthy of being entrusted with the mediation of so important a cause. He eagerly informed the three allied Courts of Catharine's intentions. An accommodation between those powers and Russia was presently terminated.

By this accommodation, the three allied Courts stipulated to propose to the Porte the terms offered by her Imperial Majesty; and declared, that if the Turks did not accept of these conditions, they would abandon their cause, and leave them to prosecute, alone, the war against Russia.

A congress was assembled at Szistowe. The negociators at first had some difficulty to come to an agreement. They removed to Gallacz, and the preliminaries of peace were at length signed * by Prince Repnin and the Grand Vizir. 1791 The definitive treaty, concluded at Yassi, followed immediately. †

After the treaty was signed, Bezborodko declared that the Empress renounced her claim to the 12,000,000 of piastres which the Porte had stipulated to pay as an indemnity for the expences she had incurred by the war. The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries testified a just admiration, inspired by this act of generosity.

Potemkin was not so fortunate as to conclude

* January 9th

† It was calculated that in this war Austria lost 130,000 soldiers, and expended three hundred millions of florins.—Russia lost 200,000 men, and expended two hundred millions of roubles.—The Turks lost 330,000 men, and expended two hundred and fifty millions of piastres.—Sweden had expended seventy millions of rix dollars, and lost nine ships of the line, four frigates, and several sloops of war.

the peace between Russia and the Porte. He had repaired to the Congress of Yassi: but, being soon attacked with an epidemical fever then raging at that place, he was unable to attend much of the negociations. As soon as the Empress learnt that he was sick, she sent off to him two of the most skilful physicians in Petersburg.* He disdained their advice, and would follow no regimen. Intemperate to excess, he ate at breakfast a whole egg, slices of hung-beef or ham, drinking with it a prodigious quantity of wine and Dantzic liqueurs, and, after this, dined with undiminished voracity.

Perceiving that his distemper gained ground upon him, he thought to recover by removing from Yassi. He accordingly resolved to depart for Nicolaeff, a town which he had built at the confluence of the Ingoul and the Bogh. Scarcely had he proceeded three leagues on his journey before he found himself much worse. He alighted from his carriage in the midst of the highway, and died † under a tree, in the arms of the Countess Branicka, his favourite niece.

* The Doctors Tinmann and Massot.

† Potemkin died the 15th of October, 1791, aged fifty-two. From Yassi his remains were transported to Kerson, where they were interred. The Empress allotted a hundred thousand roubles for the erection of a mausoleum. We have often had occasion to speak of the dignities and the titles of Potemkin, here is an abridgement of them :—Knight of the principal orders of Prussia, of Sweden, of Poland, and of all the orders of Russia; Field-Marshal, Commander in Chief of all the armies of Russia; Chief General of the cavalry; Grand Admiral of the fleets of the Euxine, of the sea of Azoff, and of the Caspian; Senator, and President of the College of War; Governor-General of Katarinasloff and of Taurida; Adjutant-General and actual Chamberlain to the Empress; Inspector-General of the armies; Colonel of the Preobaginski guards; Chief of the corps of horse guards; Colonel of the regiment of cuirassiers of his name, of the dragoons of

At first a report prevailed that the Prince had been poisoned. His body was carried to Yassi, and there opened. Not the smallest indication was discoverable to justify the suspicion.

To what has already been said of Prince Potemkin, we shall, of ourselves, add nothing farther. We shall here insert his picture, drawn by one * who lived a long time with him in habits of close intimacy, and who obligingly delineated the portrait at our solicitation.

Prince Gregory Alexandrowitch Potemkin was one of the most extraordinary men of his times; but in order to have played so distinguished a part, he must have been born in Russia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In other countries, in other times, under any other Sovereign, he would have been discarded. A singular coincidence of events gave birth to this man at a period suited to his character; and brought together and united all the circumstances, which agreed with the features of his mind.

In his character defects and advantages met in complete opposition. He was avaricious, yet fond of parade; despotic, but notwithstanding popular; inflexible, yet beneficent; haughty, yet obliging; politic, still confiding; licentious, yet of a superstitious cast; bold and timid; ambitious, but indiscreet; generous to prodigality among his relations, mistresses, and favourites; yet frequently careless in paying both his household and his creditors. His consequence always depended on a woman, and to her he was always faithless. Nothing could equal the activity of his

Petersburg, and the grenadiers of Katarinasloff; Chief of all the manufactories of arms and the founderies of cannon; Grand Hetman of the Kosacs, &c.

* M. L. P. Segur, formerly Ambassador at Petersburg.

mind, or the indolence of his body. No dangers appalled his courage: no difficulties induced him to renounce his projects; but the success ever disgusted him with the enterprizes he undertook.

‘ He wearied the empire by the number of his posts and the extent of his power. He was himself borne down with the weight of his existence; envious of all that he did not execute, and sick of all that he did. He had no relish for tranquillity, and no enjoyment of his occupations. Every thing with him was irregular; business, pleasure, temper, deportment. In every company his air was embarrassed, and his presence was a restraint on every person. All that stood in awe of him he treated with austerity; such as accosted him with familiarity he caressed.

‘ He was ever promising, but seldom kept his word; yet never forgot any thing. None had read less than he; few people were better informed. He had conversed with skilful men in all professions, in all sciences, in every art. No one knew better how to draw forth and appropriate to himself the knowledge of others. In a single conversation he would have astonished a scholar, an artist, an artificer, a divine. His acquirements were not profound, but they were very extensive. He never dived to the bottom of any, but he spoke well on all subjects.

‘ The capriciousness of his unequal temper gave an inconceivable oddity to his desires, his conduct, and his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming Duke of Courland; at another he thought of bestowing on himself the crown of Poland. He frequently expressed an intimation of making himself a Bishop, or even a simple monk. He built a superb palace, and wanted to sell it before it was

finished. One day he would dream of nothing but war; surrounded only by officers, Tartars, and Cosacs; the next day his mind was solely occupied with politics; he would partition the Ottoman empire, and agitate all the Cabinets of Europe. At other times, with his thoughts involved on the Court, dressed in a magnificent suit, covered with ribbons presented him by every potentate, displaying diamonds of an extraordinary magnitude and a striking brilliancy, he was giving superb entertainments without any meaning.

‘ He was sometimes seen for a month together, and in the face of all the city, to pass whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, seemingly negligent of all business and all decorum. Sometimes also, for several weeks successively, retired to his room with his nieces, and several men admitted to his confidence, he would loll on a sofa, without speaking; playing at chess, or cards; with his legs bare, the collar of his shirt unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eye-brows knit, and presenting to the eyes of strangers, who came to visit him, the figure of a salacious and rough Kosac.

‘ All these singularities frequently raised the Empress’s displeasure, but rendered him still more interesting to her. In his youth he had pleased her by the ardour of his passion, by his valour, by his masculine beauty. Arrived at the age of maturity, he charmed her still by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehensions, by strengthening her power, by caressing her whims of Oriental empire, the expulsion of the barbarians, and the restoration of the Greek republics.

‘ At eighteen, a subaltern in the horse guards,

he induced, on the day of the revolution, his corps to take up arms; and presented to Catharine his knot as an ornament for her sword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed, on his Sovereign's account, whatever the most romantic passion could inspire. He put out his eye to remove from it a blemish which diminished his beauty. Banished by his rival, he ran to meet death in combat, but returned with glory. A successful lover, he quickly got rid of the hypocritical farce, of which the developement held out to him the perspective of an obscure disaster. He himself gave favourites to his mistress, and became her confidant, her friend, her General, and her Minister.

Panin was President of the Council, and favoured the alliance with Prussia. Potemkin persuaded his mistress, that the friendship of the Emperor would be of more use in realizing her plans against the Turks. He connected her with Joseph II. and by that means furnished himself with the means of conquering the Crimea, and the country of the Nogay Tartars, dependent upon it. Restoring to these regions their sonorous and ancient names, creating a naval armament at Kerson and Sevastopol, he persuaded Catharine to come and admire in person this new scene of his glory. Nothing was spared in order to render this journey renowned. Money, provisions, and horses, were conveyed thither from all parts of the empire. The highways were illuminated. The Borysthenes was covered with magnificent gallies. A hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were armed and newly equipped. The Kosacs were assembled; the Tartars disciplined; desarts were peopled; and palaces raised. The nakedness of the Krimean plains was disguised by villages built on purpose

to relieve its dreary aspect; and these were enlivened by fire-works. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Savage woods were transformed into English gardens. The King of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned, and who afterwards deposed him from his throne. The Emperor Joseph II. came himself to attend the triumphal march of the Empress Catharine; and the result of this brilliant journey was another war; to undertake which the English and the Prussians impolitically instigated the Turks; and which was only a fresh incitement to the ambition of Potemkin; by affording him an opportunity to conquer Oczakoff, which remained to Russia; and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George; the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But with these latter triumphs the term of his life expired. He died in Moldavia, almost on a sudden; and his death, lamented by his nieces and a small circle of friends, only served to raise the avidity of his rivals, eager to divide his spoils; he was then consigned to total oblivion.

‘ Like the rapid flight of a brilliant meteor which astonishes us by its coruscation, but is devoid of solidity, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing, deranged the finances, disorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with new desarts. The fame of the Empress was encreased by his conquests. From these she derived admiration, and her Minister hatred. Posterity, adhering to stricter justice, will perhaps divide between them the glory of success and the severity of reproach. It will not bestow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will cite him as an extraordi-

nary character; and, if his portrait be drawn with accuracy, he might be represented as a real emblem, as a living image of the Russian empire.

‘ He was, in fact, colossal, resembling Russia. His mind, like that country, was cultivated in part; fertile districts and desert plains. It discovered something of the Asiatic cast, that of the European, of the Tartarian, and the Kosac; the rudeness of the eleventh, and the corruption of the eighteenth century; the superficial knowledge of the arts, and the barren ignorance of the cloisters; the exterior of civilization, and many traces of barbarism. In a word, if we might venture the comparison, his two eyes, the one open and the other shut, reminded us of the Euxine, always open, and the northern ocean, so long closed with ice.

‘ This portrait may appear gigantic: those, however, who knew Potemkin will bear witness to its truth. His eccentricities were very conspicuous: but without them, perhaps, he would neither have domineered over his Sovereign, nor enslaved his country. Chance formed him precisely such as he ought to have been, in order to have preserved so long his influence over so extraordinary a woman.’

BOOK XI.ARGUMENT.

State of the Court of Petersburg at the death of Prince Potemkin—Insurrection of Kosciuszko—Last partition of Poland—Assassination of Gustavus III.—Death of Leopold II.—French Emigrants in Russia—Of Plato Zuboff and his brothers—Treaty with Great Britain—Conspiracy of Armsfeldt—Journey of Gustavus Adolphus to St. Petersburg—Conquests in Persia—Death of Catharine II.—Statement of the presents that were received by her favourites—Forces, Expences, and Revenues of Russia.

WHEN the Empress saw Lanskoï expire in 1792 her arms, she shut herself up in her apartment, and, giving way to her grief, was so indifferent to the world, that she was disposed to let herself die by inanition. On hearing of the death of Potemkin, she likewise shut herself up; but it was only to employ her thoughts upon the administration of the empire. She was occupied for fifteen hours together, and divided among her Ministers the direction of the affairs with which Potemkin had been charged.

Bezborodko was sent to the Congress at Yassi, and concluded the peace, as related in the fore-

going book; and at his return, finding himself at the head of the college of foreign affairs, he at first enjoyed very extensive influence

The favourite Plato Zuboff, who till now had been an utter stranger to business, was desirous of an active part in the Ministry, and of taking on himself the direction. He advised with the intriguing Markoff, who soon became his flatterer, and readily undertook to guide him in the career of politics. Markoff was recompensed for it by the entire confidence of the favourite and that of his Sovereign. They formed their council boards, in which they treated of the most important affairs, and from which they excluded Bezborodko: who, without being precisely disgraced, lost much of his influence.

It was in one of these conciliabula, composed of Zuboff, Markoff, the Minister at War, Nicolai Soltikoff, and some others, that the annihilation of Poland, long since projected by Catharine, was determined on. That Princess wished for it as a gratification to her pride and vengeance. Her favourites and her greedy Ministers had promoted it with the hopes of sharing in the rich spoils of the unhappy Poles.

The Empress could never forgive that nation either for the act of the Diet of 1788, * or the alliance of Prussia, accepted in contempt of her own; or, above all, the constitution of 1791. † Filled with these ideas of vengeance, she gave orders to Bulgakoff, her Minister at Warsaw, solemnly to declare war against Poland.

The Diet being assembled, received this de-

* Which abrogated the constitution dictated by violence in 1775.

† Decreed at Warsaw the 3d of May.

claration with a majestic serenity, to which the generous enthusiasm excited by the ardour of self defence rapidly succeeded. The sentiments of the Diet diffused itself over the whole nation. The King himself was possessed by them, or rather pretended so to be; and the Poles had the weakness to believe, that, discarding his former servility to Russia, and his accustomed indolence, he would become the defender of liberty. An army was collected in haste, and the command of it given to Prince Joseph Poniatoffsky, whose inexperience and frivolity of disposition rendered him incapable of supporting so weighty a burden.

The Poles might have opposed an army of 50,000 men to the designs of Catharine: but they have never learnt the art of uniting their forces; and their different corps soon found themselves pressed between an army of 80,000 Russians; who from Bessarabia fell back upon the territory which extends along the Bogh; another of 10,000 collected in the environs of Kioff; and a third, of 30,000, penetrated into Lithuania.

We shall not in this place draw the picture of the various battles that drenched the Polish plains with blood, and which, notwithstanding some advantages obtained by the Poles, destroyed the greatest part of their forces. It was then that Thaddeus Kosciuszko,* at that time nothing more than one of the Lieutenants under the young Joseph Poniatoffsky, displayed talents whereby he merited the confidence of his nation, the hatred of the Russians, and the esteem of Europe.

* We have been told by a Polish gentleman, that this name should be written Koschieffsky.

During all this time, Catharine, not trusting to the mere power of her own armies, had not ceased to negotiate. She proposed the definitive partition of Poland to Frederick William, who was undoubtedly as desirous of it as herself. She secretly gained over to her views the two brothers Kassakoffsky, the Hetman Branicky, Rejevusky, and especially Felix Potocki,* who, perhaps, flattered himself with the hopes of ascending the throne of Poland, but became only the slave of Russia. In fine, she insisted that Stanislaus Augustus should make a public declaration, that he was necessitated to yield to the superiority of the Russian arms.

That Monarch, with miserable courage, submitted to this indignity: but he did not experience, on that account, a greater share of indulgence from the Empress.

1793 The confederation of the partizans of Russia assembled at Grodno, and saw, with humbled pride, the Russian General proudly seating himself under the canopy of the throne which he was upon the point to overthrow. The Russian Minister, at the same time, published † a manifesto, in which he declared that his Sovereign would incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered.

The King of Prussia, in concert with Catharine, had already marched an army into Poland.

The Russians, dispersed among the provinces of that kingdom, committed such acts of depredation and violence as history furnishes but few examples of. Warsaw became likewise the thea-

* He put himself at the head of the confederation of Targoviska in favour of the Russians.

† The 9th of April. This Minister was named Sievers.

tre of their excesses. The Russian General Igœelstrœm, who governed in that city, tolerated the disorders of his soldiers, and made the wretched inhabitants feel the weight of his arrogance and barbarity. The defenders of Poland had been obliged to disperse.* Their property was confiscated; their families were reduced to servitude. Oppressed by so many calamities, they were once more inspired with the resolution of emancipating their country from the oppression of Russia. Some of them assembled, and sent an invitation to Kosciuszko to come and lead them on to battle.

That General had retired to Leipsic, with Hugh Kolontay, Zajonczek, and Ignatius Potocki, a man of great knowledge, a sincere friend to his country, and in all respects the opposite of his cousin Felix. These four Poles hesitated not to approve the resolution adopted by their honest countrymen: but they were sensible that, in order to ensure success, they must liberate the peasants, who, till then, had been treated in Poland like beasts of burthen.

Kosciuszko and Zajonczek repaired, with expedition, to the frontiers of Poland. The latter proceeded to Warsaw, and had conferences with the chiefs of the conspirators. A banker, named Kapustas, of a bold and artful mind, took upon himself to be responsible for the inhabitants of the capital. He saw likewise several officers, who declared their abhorrence of the Russian yoke. All, in short, was ripe for an insurrection, when the Russian Commanders, to whom Kosciuszko's presence on the frontiers had given umbrage,

* Several of them were even arrested; and Bonneau, the French Secretary of Legation, was carried off, and conducted to Siberia.

forced him to postpone the moment of insurrection.

To deceive the suspicion of the Russians, Kosciuszko went into Italy, and Zajonczech repaired to Dresden, whither Ignatius Potocki and Kolontay had retired; but all at once Zajonczech appeared again at Warsaw. The King himself denounced him to the Russian General Igœlstrœm, who had a conference with, and ordered him to quit the Polish territory. The alternative that now remained for him was either to proceed immediately to action, or to abandon the enterprise altogether. Zajonczech resolved on the former step.

1794 { Kosciuszko was recalled from Italy, and arrived at Cracow, where the Poles received him as their deliverer. In spite of the orders of the Russians, Colonel Madalinsky had refused to license his regiment. Some other officers joined him. Kosciuszko was proclaimed General of this little army; * and the act of insurrection was almost immediately published. †

Three hundred peasants, armed with scythes, came and ranged themselves under Kosciuszko's standard. That General soon found himself opposed by 7000 Russians, who were put to flight after a vigorous resistance.

Upon hearing at Warsaw of the success of Kosciuszko, the Russian General Igœlstrœm caused all those to be arrested whom he suspected of having aided the insurrection: but these measures served only to exasperate the conspirators. The rebellion broke out ‡ Two thousand Russians were massacred. Their Ge-

* They had 3000 infantry and 1200 horse.

† The 24th of March.

‡ The 18th of April.

neral, being besieged in his house, requested permission to capitulate; and, profiting by the delay that they granted him, he escaped to the Prussian camp, at a little distance from Warsaw.

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warsaw: but the triumph of the insurgents was there less terrible. Colonel Jazinsky, who was at their head, conducted himself with so much skill, that he took all the Russians prisoners, without shedding a drop of blood. The inhabitants of the cantons of Chelm and of Lublin also declared themselves in a state of insurrection, and were imitated by three Polish regiments, employed in the Russian service.

Some of the principal partizans of Russia, the Hetman Kassakoffsky, the Bishop, his brother Zabiello, Ozaroffsky, and Anckwicz, were sentenced to be hanged; the first at Wilna, the others at Warsaw.

Kosciuszko exerted every nerve to augment his army. He got recruits from among the peasants; and, to inspire them with more emulation, he wore their dress, ate with them, and liberally dealt out encouragements among them; but those men, too long degraded in Poland, were not yet deserving of the proffered liberty. They distrusted the intentions of the nobles, who, on their side, for the most part, regretted the loss of their prerogatives.

Stanislaus Augustus and his partizans still further augmented the ill-will of the nobles, by representing the intentions of Kosciuszko as disastrous to them, and by eternally caballing in favour of Russia.

The Empress, however, not satisfied with

augmenting the number of her troops in Poland, had sent thither her best Generals.

After several battles, in one of which Frederick William, who had advanced to support the Russians, fought at the head of his troops, against Kosciuszko; endeavouring to prevent the junction of the Russian Generals, Souwaroff and Fersen, he was attacked by the latter at Maciejowice.* The talents of Kosciuszko, his valour, his desperation, were unable to support the Poles against numbers. Almost the whole of his army were slaughtered, or obliged to surrender their arms. Himself, covered with wounds, fell senseless on the field of battle, and was taken prisoner.

All who were able to escape from the conquerors went and shut themselves up in the suburb of Prague, † whither they were pursued by General Souwaroff. The siege of Prague was not of long continuance. On the morrow of his arrival, ‡ the ardent Souwaroff gave the assault; and, having made himself master of the suburb, put to the sword, not only the soldiers, but all the inhabitants; without distinction of sex or age. Twenty thousand innocent persons fell victims to the brutal fury of the sanguinary Russian. Covered with the blood of these unfortunate people, the barbarian entered Warsaw in triumph. Some bands of insurgents, dispersed in the provinces, immediately surrendered. The Courts of Petersburg and Berlin divided, as they pleased, the remains of unhappy Poland; and the cruel courtiers of the Empress shared amongst them the wealth of a great number of proscribed

* The 4th of October.

† It is a suburb of Warsaw, or rather a small town situate on one side of that capital.

‡ The 2d of November.

persons. Stanislaus Augustus was sent to Grodno, where he was condemned to live obscurely on a pension granted him by the Empress; while Repnin, appointed Governor-General of the invaded provinces, displayed the pomp of a Sovereign.

Zajonczek and Kolontai, who had escaped to the Austrian territory, saw the rights of hospitality violated in their persons, and were detained prisoners. Kosciuszko, Ignatius Potocki, Kapustas, and some others, were transported to Petersburg, and shut up in dungeons. Among these objects of pity was the young poet, Niemcewicz, distinguished both for his valour and talents, the friend of Kosciuszko, wounded at his side, and made prisoner with him. The blood that he had lost for his country was not the only injury with which Catharine reproached Niemcewicz. He had composed verses against her, * in bold and energetic strains. Her Majesty had him at first confined in the citadel of Petersburg, and afterwards sent him to Schlusselburg, where he experienced the most brutal severity.

The account of the bloody revolution effected by the brave Kosciuszko has obliged us to defer the recital of several events: we shall here recall them to our view.

* There appeared at Warsaw not only pieces in verse and prose, but caricature prints, in which the Empress was very much insulted. Among others, there was one representing her Majesty seated upon a sofa, and holding a cup in each hand. On one side stood several executioners, cutting off heads, and suffering the blood to spout into one of the cups. On the other was a group of young people, who were forced, with infamous art, to fill the cup with what Nature has given for our re-production. Underneath were these words:

‘Satisfy your soul with what it loves so much.’

Impatient to see Gustavus III. attempt his chivalric and perilous enterprize, Catharine gave orders to Count Stackelberg, her Minister at Stockholm, to promise * that Monarch 12,000 Russian soldiers, and an annual subsidy of 300,000 roubles, to aid him in restoring to the King of France his authority. Certainly the Empress never intended to keep this promise, which she always eluded with art. She wanted only to accelerate the moment of the royal confederation, and to excite her rivals to destroy each other.

But Gustavus had not time to go and consummate the ruin of his country on the frontiers of France. The Swedish nobles were for the most part always discontented with the revolution of 1772. Of this they gave a convincing proof in refusing to fight at Fredericksham. By pardoning their defection, Gustavus did but embolden them, and serve the Russians, who were exciting his subjects perpetually against him. Three young men † at this time resolved to give him his death-blow, and drew lots for the infamous honour of making the first attack. A masquerade, at which Gustavus was to be present, was favourable to their horrid intent. Here the conspirators met. Ankarstrœm, seizing the moment when a group of masks surrounded Gustavus, discharged a pistol ‡ into his kidneys. The Swedish Monarch expired within a few days after. § His son, Gustavus Adolphus, a young

* In the month of October, 1791.

† The Count Von Horn, Ribbing, and Ankarstrœm.

‡ Ankarstrœm was armed with a dentelated poignard, and a brace of pistols, charged with several pieces of balls, bullets, and little nails. Oneshot completed the destruction of Gustavus.

§ The 29th of March, 1791. He had been assassinated in the night of the 15th of the same month.

Prince, aged fourteen years, succeeded to the throne; and the regency was given to the Duke of Sudermania.

A short time previous to this, the Emperor, Leopold II. died at Vienna, * in a manner less shocking, but almost as sudden; and had left the Imperial Crown, the Archduchy of Austria, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, to his son, Francis II.

The death of two chiefs of the royal league against France drove the French emigrants to despair; they fled in great numbers to Petersburg, to apply for assistance in troops; which the Empress failed not to promise, but took care not to fulfil.

Her Majesty, however, took alarm at the revolution effected in France. She was apprehensive lest its principles should find their way into Russia, and there occasion some combustion that might hurl her from the throne. To all the French who signified their attachment to their old form of government, she gave a welcome reception; the rest were wisely proscribed. The French Ambassador quitted Petersburg: but though she disapproved of the opinions of that Minister, she could not refrain from doing justice to his virtues, his talents, and the polished suavity of his manners; she said to him, on his taking leave: 'I am an aristocrat; I must carry on my trade.' A little while after she recalled the Ambassador whom she had at Paris. She interdicted access to her Court to the *Chargé des Affaires* † of France, and prohibited her Ministers from conferring with him. Her animadversion against the French extended even

* The 1st of March, 1791.

† Genet.

to Colonel La Harpe, who was Preceptor to the two young Princes, Alexander and Constantine; and who, as a Swiss and a philosopher, carried in his heart the love of liberty. That estimable man was often a butt to the hatred of the emigrants; but his own prudence, and the just respect shewn to him by the Grand Duke, supported him against all their intrigues.*

Perhaps it may not prove uninteresting to be informed who were the emigrants that played a part at the Court of Russia.

The first was Esterhazy, an emissary of the French Princes, and invested with the title of their Ambassador. It is reported of him that his pride was extravagant, and his servility to courtiers basely mean; with a hardy boldness of disposition; and a figure altogether disagreeable; he had the ability to substitute his uncouthly rudeness for a noble austerity.

Bombelles was characterised only for an ephemeral pomp. His pretensions and his insufficiency were justly appreciated.

Saint Priest was more fortunate. The Empress expressed towards him great kindness, and much consideration. But a desire of expressing her gratitude was, perhaps, the motive that urged her to that conduct. However that may be, she one day said, after a long conversation with Saint Priest:—‘ I could pass my life with such Ministers.’

With less ability than Saint Priest, Choiseul-Gouffier did not inspire the same share of confidence.

* What may appear strange, is, that when the son of Count Esterhazy appeared at Court, the Empress caused the patriotic songs of the French to be sung to the infant; and the hermitage sometimes resounded with the air *ça ira* and the *Carmagnole*.

Calonne repaired to Petersburg. He made this visit, under pretext of proposing to the Empress the acquisition of a vast collection of pictures, which he had to sell; but his principal aim was to negotiate for the French Princes, and the coalition at Paris.

The volatile spirit and the audacious vanity which had formerly raised Calonne a number of partizans, could not procure him the same advantage at the Court of Petersburg.

The Comte d'Artois had in his suite Roger Dumas, D'Escars, Roll, the Swiss Colonel, and the Bishop of Arras. The latter was the Prince's chief adviser.

At this period it was, that the news of the defection of Dumourier reached Petersburg. The emigrants flattered themselves with the hope that this General would not fail to re-conquer France; and the Count D'Artois did not conceal his sentiments, when he spoke of the subject to a deputation of French merchants, who were constrained to wait upon him.

The Court of Petersburg was at this time divided into two parties; the one had at its head the old Count Ostermann, the Woronzoffs, and Bezborodko; who wished to shelter themselves under the name of the Grand Duke; but whom that Prince had always the prudence not to avow, and of whose intrigues he was either totally ignorant, or at least feigned to be so. The other party was that of Zouboff, of Markoff, and of Nicolai Iwanowitz Soltikoff; who, though Governor of the Grand Duke's children, was servilely devoted to the favourite.*

* Count Nicolai Iwanowitz Soltikoff is now President of the College of War. He never acknowledged the Zouboffs for his relations, until Plato was raised to the post of favourite, and then Soltikoff was eager to avow his relationship.

This favourite was, besides, supported by his father, his three brothers, and his sister, all loaded with the bounties of their Sovereign. It is necessary here to give some account of that family.

The father of the favourite Zouboff had been Vice-Governor of a province, and officially entrusted with the administration of the finances, the magazines, and the manufactories which were dependent on the appointment. These establishments were burnt; and a suspicion arose of his having set them on fire, in order to save himself the trouble of balancing his accounts. However that may be, the conflagration procured the Vice-Governor an annual income of 60,000 roubles. After the elevation of his son, Zouboff obtained the important place of Precireur-General of the senate; and made of justice an infamous traffic. It is confidently affirmed, that he purchased causes, however scandalous, and gave judgment upon them as his caprice directed. His own son was so much ashamed of his conduct, that he resolved to remove him at a distance; and appointed him senator in the department of Moscow; where he died, and left an immense fortune.

Nicolai Zouboff, eldest son of this extortioner, was a man of estimable character. He served in Poland, there distinguished himself by his valour, and married the daughter of Field-Marshal Souwaroff.

Valerian Zouboff, Brigadier and Major of the Guards, served also in the army against Poland, where his leg was shot away by a cannon-ball. He, for some time, with his brother, Plato, shared the secret favours of the Sovereign, and afterwards commanded the army that marched against the Persians.

Alexander Zouboff, Chamberlain to the Empress, a man devoid of talents, but not of ambition, was son-in-law of the rich Prince Wo-emskoi, who had united the three posts, of Procureur-General of the senate of Petersburg, Minister of the finance, and Minister of the interior.

Lastly, Plato Zouboff, the lover of Catharine, decorated with the title of Prince, and Grand Master of the Artillery, enjoyed all the authority that Orloff, Lanskoi, and Potemkin formerly possessed. Ministers, Generals, Ambassadors, resorted to this favourite's * toilette, to pay him their humble court; being assured that these acts of mean complaisance were the only effectual means of obtaining the approbation of the Empress.

The sister of Zouboff was married to the Chamberlain Jerebzoff. This lady, handsome and very gallant, expended a part of her revenues in acts of beneficence; and often violated her promise in her amorous assignations, in order to visit and relieve the distressed. She abhorred the Court, detested etiquette, avoided grand circles, and would have willingly passed her days without attention to dress. The British Minister attached himself to her, and, through her influence, seconded by that of the favourite, prevailed so far as to pacify the Empress; whom

* One example will evince the respect in which the favourite is held by the Russians. Zouboff kept a little monkey, called the Sapaïou, full of tricks, and very troublesome, offensive to every body, but whom every one caressed, in order to please his master. One day, this animal jumped on the head of a General Officer, exceedingly well dressed and powdered; and, after having totally deranged his hair, covered it with his excrements, without complaint from the General.

the late war with the Turks, had irritated against the Court of London.

The old Dirnidoff, distinguished for his riches as well as his extravagance, had become passionately fond of the favourite's sister; and she, who had not a grain of cruelty in her nature, received from him considerable presents.

The intimate confidant of Zouboff was one of his relations; a volatile but sensible youth; to whom he had given a place of Chamberlain, and whose advice he often followed.

Zouboff had, besides, great confidence in a Raguzan, named Altesti. Placed at first in the house of a free merchant of Constantinople, Altesti procured an acquaintance with the Russian Minister Bulgakoff; who, appreciating the pliable and the venturous temper of this young Italian, attached him to his legation, and carried him to Warsaw. Altesti introduced himself to the notice of some Polish ladies of high consideration, who obtained for him the office of Envoy to Petersburg; where he caballed with as much address as ingratitude against his patron; and at last procured his recall. At the same time he found means to interest Zouboff in his favour, who took him as his Secretary,* and admitted him into the mysteries of his little council.

Among the persons of whom we are speaking, several had considerable influence in the Cabinet of Petersburg, but did not always regulate its measures as they pleased. The Empress watched

* Zouboff had, for the department of war, another Secretary, named Graboffskoi, who had been in the secretaryship of Prince Potemkin under Popoff. He likewise made use of Lorrainer Aubert for foreign affairs, who, at first, an emissary sent by Russia to Warsaw, had contrived to remove out of the way Bonneau, the French Secretary of Legation.

them with narrow circumspection. Neither her advanced age nor her weaknesses prevented a regular attention to business with her Ministers. On all important affairs she decided herself. Zouboff, yielding to the intreaties of his sister and the British Minister, obtained from the Empress the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain: that which had expired in 1786 had not been renewed.

Her Majesty at the same time published two edicts, prohibiting the importation of French merchandize into her dominions. This was a double triumph for the English. By the new treaty of commerce their privileges were extended; and they reasonably hoped to substitute the stuffs of India and their own manufacture for those of Lyons; and the wines of Madeira and Oporto for the wines of France.

They obtained still more. Catharine promised shortly the junction of a Russian squadron with the English fleet. Orders were even sent to accelerate the armaments at Cronstadt. Stackelberg pressed the Court of Stockholm not to keep the neutrality with France; and Krudener, animated by the same spirit, tormented with his solicitations the Court of Copenhagen. But the Swedes and the Danes, who considered only the advantages of their trade, remained inflexible.

The Grand Signor sent to Petersburg an Ambassador,* who offered magnificent presents † to the Empress and her Ministers. Her Majesty at the same time dispatched to Constantinople General Koutouzoff, with the title of Ambassador extraordinary. Koutouzoff employed both

* Raschid Mehemet Effendi.

† Among these presents was a tent ornamented with pearls, and estimated at 30,000 roubles.

intreaties and threats to determine the Porte to expel all the French from the Ottoman territory. But they were of no avail. The Divan, exasperated at the defection of the English, who had abandoned them in the late war, and convinced of their true interests by Descorches, the French Minister, preserved the respect due to a nation, whom they regarded as their most ancient and most faithful ally.

During that time, the Russian Ambassador at Stockholm, and the Swedish party attached to that power, incessantly caballed; in order to deprive the Duke of Sudermania of the regency; and to name to the young King a council, charged with the administration of the government, under the protection of her Imperial Majesty. A conspiracy was even formed, which was detected at the very moment of its execution. To give a just idea of which, it will be necessary to retrace our steps.

In 1782, Gustavus III. made a will, providing, in case of his decease, that his son Gustavus Adolphus, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, should not assume the reins of government before he reached the age of one and twenty. At the onset of the war between him and Russia, he made a second, that fixed the majority of Gustavus Adolphus at eighteen; on account of the unexpected progress which that young Prince had made in his studies. These two testaments granted the regency to the Duke of Sudermania, together with all the royal prerogatives; excepting that of creating nobles, and conferring the honour of Knighthood.

When Gustavus III. was assassinated by Ankarström, and the physicians announced to him the mortality of his wound, the Monarch made

a third will, which, in leaving the regency to the Duke of Sudermania, obliged him to take into his council Baron d'Armfeldt and Baron de Taube. The moment the King expired, this codicil was presented to the Duke, who having read it, threw it into the fire.

No mention was therefore made but of the two former wills, which, being presented to the tribunal of the court, alone bore a legal character; and in pursuance of which the Duke of Sudermania was declared Regent. That Prince immediately recalled the Baron de Reuterholm, who, after the diet of 1789, had retired into Italy. Without having any other title, Reuterholm became the Principal Counsellor, or rather the Prime Minister of the Regent.

Almost all the friends of Gustavus III. were devoted to Russia, and dismissed. Armfeldt passed into Italy, because, contrary to his inclination, he was nominated Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Naples. But, though at a distance from Stockholm, that Minister sedulously endeavoured to deprive the Duke of Sudermania of the regency, and even of his life. He kept up a regular correspondence with the Court of Petersburg, through the Ragusan Altesti, Zouboff's Secretary. He drew up a plan of a conspiracy, to which the friends whom he left in Sweden acceded. He at length thought himself on the point of accomplishing his designs. But all his steps were observed: spies followed him wherever he went; his papers were taken from him, sent into Sweden, and laid before the tribunal of the court; who instantly arrested his accomplices, and brought them to trial.

The greater part of the papers relative to this¹⁷⁹⁵ trial were printed; and proved to the Swedish~

nation, that the conspirators acted in concert with Russia, and relied on the assistance of that power.

These circumstances were not adapted to harmonize the two Courts. On the contrary, they daily sharpened the spirit of animosity; and the notes which the Russian Ministers soon after presented to the Court of Stockholm contained nothing but menaces. The Swedish Ministry always answered them with firmness, but with decency.

The Regent had resolved to espouse the young King of Sweden to the Princess of Mecklenburg. The marriage was even agreed on, and the Princess of Mecklenburg proclaimed future Queen of Sweden. The Empress testified great displeasure at this proceeding; she pretended that Gustavus III. had promised her the hand of his son for one of the young Grand Duchesses; and she looked upon the violation of that promise as a personal outrage. When Count Schwerin, therefore, was commissioned to go and announce at Petersburg the marriage of the young King; Catharine, who was previously informed of the object of his mission, dispatched a courier to meet him on the borders of Finland, and to forbid his entrance into Russia! *

Soon after this, the Empress appointed Baron Budberg to be her Majesty's Chargé des Affaires at Stockholm. It seems, by affecting a contempt for the Court of Sweden, she purposely sent thither this agent, both on account of his youthful inexperience and his extreme pride. It was recommended to him to shew a great de-

* The Regent contented himself with causing to be published, on this occasion, a declaration. See Appendix to this vol. No. III.

gree of stateliness and insolence ; and he certainly exceeded his orders. *

The misunderstanding between Sweden and Russia seemed now to have reached its height; when a French emigrant, named Christin, made his appearance at Stockholm † He had come from England to Gothenburg ; and affirmed that he was charged with a mission from the Count d'Artois to the Empress of Russia : but this was only to conceal, in a more effectual manner, the real object of his journey ; since he had secret orders to dispose the Regent to an accommodation with the Empress. Success attended his negociation ; and soon after General Budberg, uncle of the *Chargé des Affaires*, arrived in Sweden, with the title of Ambassador from the Empress.

General Budberg informed the Regent of his mistress's intentions. She requested that that Prince and Baron Reuterholm would prepare the young King to divorce the Princess of Mecklenburg, in order to espouse one of her Majesty's grand daughters ; and that they would engage him also not to exact of his consort submission to the law, which prescribes to the Queens of Sweden the adoption of the religion of the country. She, in the last place, was desirous that the Re-

* In a company where the greater part of the ladies of the Court were present, and where the men were all uncovered, he had the unpoliteness to keep his hat on his head. It was previous to his presentation at Court. Accordingly, on the day of his being presented, the Regent spoke not a word to him ; but, he had a horsewhip in his hand, with which he repeatedly struck his boot, as if he had a particular inclination to strike elsewhere.

† In the month of January. Christin wore a Swiss uniform, and called himself an officer in the service of that nation.

gent and Reuterholm should accompany the young King to Petersburg.

Catharine spoke: she was obeyed. The Regent, his royal ward,* his Minister, and a numerous train of courtiers, repaired to Petersburg.† The pride of the Empress was satisfied: she now displayed nothing but her magnificence.

The young King seemed greatly affected at the benevolence expressed towards him by the Empress; but he was still more deeply pierced with the charms of the Grand Duchess Alexandra. The sight of her soon erased from his memory the Princess of Mecklenburg. Proposals of marriage were immediately concluded, and the day fixed for the ceremony of their betrothment; which was to be followed by a grand entertainment. When the contract was presented to the King for his signature, he observed, to the great astonishment of the Imperial family, that the fundamental laws of Sweden obliged him to demand that the Princess should change her religion; and that, without this condition, he could not sign the contract.

The Empress at first endeavoured, by solicitations and flatteries, to persuade the young Monarch to sign the deed: but, perceiving that his resolution was fixed, she coldly rose up, and retired. The Grand Duke, the Grand Duchess, and their children followed her steps. The entertainment was set aside; and on the morrow Gustavus Adolphus and his suite quitted Petersburg.

* The young King Gustavus Adolphus took the title of Count Haga, and the Regent that of Count Vasa.

† They arrived there the 24th of August.

Catharine had conquered, either by her arms or by her intrigues, nearly half of Poland, the Crimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey. But she had no need of battles for the usurpation of another rich and populous country. Her intrigues were sufficient. This country was Courland, over which the feeble son * of the famous Biren still held the sceptre.

Long since the emissaries of Russia had gained over several Courlanders, and particularly the Counsellor Howen, an eloquent man, pliable and ambitious. The Courish nobility† were often drawn to Petersburg. The flattering reception of the Empress, the distinctions, the pleasures, experienced by them in that city, rendered the abode of the Imperial residence far preferable to that of Mittau; and inspired them with a desire of being obedient to the Sovereign of a vast empire, rather than to a Duke; the obscurity of whose origin incessantly occurred to their mind, and whom they regarded as their inferior.

In order to induce the people to imbibe this sentiment of the nobles, Catharine had recourse to subtilty, and alarmed their fears. Through the inhabitants of Livonia, she insisted upon the fulfilment of an ancient convention, whereby the Courlanders were under an obligation to bring all their merchandizes to Riga. It certainly was very strange to insist that a nation, having upon its own coasts excellent harbours, happily situated, should go, at a great expence, and embark the products of its soil in a foreign city. But what can withstand force? and what

* Duke Charles.

† The principal of these nobles are Manteufel, Bahr, Klopmann, Korff, Grothaus, Sass, Igælstœm, &c.

does not ambition dare? The quarrel subsisting between the Livonians and the Courlanders was not yet terminated, when the Empress sent engineers into Courland, to mark out a canal; by which she might facilitate the transportation of the merchandize of that country into Livonia. The Courlanders upon this, fearing lest they should be soon forced to make use of this canal; thought it more to their interest to be protected, than oppressed by the Empress, and to be her subjects, than her neighbours.

The Empress informed of these dispositions, invited the Duke of Courland to wait upon her, under pretext of conferring with him on matters of importance. But that Prince had scarcely reached the foot of the throne of the autocratrix of the north, than the states of Courland held an assembly. The nobility proposed to renounce the supremacy of Poland, and to pass under that of Russia. The principal members of the Grand Council endeavoured to oppose this change, by observing, that before they decided upon such a measure, it would be proper to wait the Duke's return. The Oberbourgrave Howen rose up, and spoke a long time in favour of Russia. Some Counsellors coincided with him in opinion; others reproached him with treason. The dispute grew warm; challenges were given; and swords were upon the eve of being drawn; when the Russian General Pahlen appeared in the assembly. His presence restored tranquillity. Not a person dared to raise his voice against Russia; and the proposal of the nobility was adopted.

The next day * the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the Circle of Pilten,

* The 18th of March, 1795. The singularity as well as the brevity of this act may be seen in the Appendix, No. IV.

surrendered themselves to the Empress of Russia; and it was carried to Petersburg, where the Duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own subjects, that they themselves had just deprived him of his dominions.* A Governor was sent thither immediately by the Empress.

However, some discontent arose in Courland: discontent brought on proscription; and the estates of the proscribed were given to Catharine's courtiers. The favourite, Plato Zouboff, and his brother Valerian, obtained a great part of these rich and shameful spoils.

The acquisition of Courland was valuable to Russia. That country produces much corn and timber, in which a great commerce is carried on; and it has several ports, advantageously situated on the Baltic. We cannot, consistently with our limits, give a description of Courland. We shall only observe, that Liebau augments the wonderful wealth of Russia, and that Windau will doubtless become one day the station of her fleets. This port, which is never closed by ice, could be easily made able to contain 100 ships of the line, which might at any time menace Denmark and Sweden.

Though in peaceable possession of so many usurped dominions, Catharine still took fresh measures to retain them under her empire. Prince Repnin and General Toutulmin exacted in her name a new oath of allegiance; the one in Lithuania, the other in Poland; † and the mise-

* It seemed that the Duke foresaw this intended spoliation, for he had bought up several estates in Prussia; the Duchy of Sagan, in Silesia; the lands of Rothenburg and Fredericksfeldt, in Brandenburg. He was already possessed, in Silesia, of the countries of Wartenburg, of Balin, and of Goschutz.

† See the formula of the oath exacted from the Lithuanians and the Poles, Appendix, No. V.

rable inhabitants of those countries, who dared to refuse submission to that cruel formality, were instantly deprived of the heritage of their fathers, and driven from their native soil.

The Empress, who had so long given vain assurances of succour to the royal league formed against France, yielded to the solicitations of the favourite Zouboff, whom his sister, the British Minister, and Esterhazy, constantly urged. She determined* to join the English fleet with a squadron of twelve ships of the line and eight frigates, the command of which was given to Admiral Kanikoff. But, never making treaties without a view of benefiting her country, it was stipulated that her ships should be provisioned at the expence of her ally, and sent home in thorough repair; all this was done; but the Russian squadron never engaged; and it was affirmed that they had received her Majesty's express orders not to fight.

Catharine had married † her grandson Alexander to the Princess Louisa of Baden Durlach. ‡ She was likewise desirous of giving a spouse to Prince Constantine. She invited to her Court the three daughters of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg; and, after hesitating some time in her choice, she determined in favour of the youngest, who, on becoming Grand Duchess, took the name of Anna Federowna. §

But quiet usurpations, treaties, and alliances, were not sufficient to gratify the ambition of Catharine's mind. Greedy of conquest, she turned her arms against Persia. Under pre-

* The 22d of July, 1795.

† The 21st of May, 1793.

‡ On embracing the Greek religion, the Princess Louisa of Baden took the name of Elizabeth Alexiwna.

§ The 14th of February, 1796.

tence of defending Lolf-Ali Khan, an offspring of the race of the Sophis, she wanted to be revenged on Aga-Mahmed, and to get possession of the Persian provinces bordering on the Caspian sea. Her Minister at Constantinople received orders to press the Porte to second her designs. The Reis-Effendi, Raschid-Mehemet, strongly supported the measure: the Divan was immovable.

Valerian Zouboff, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the province of Daghestan, and laid siege to Derbent. He made his first attack upon a high tower which defended the place; and, after having carried it by storm, put the whole garrison to the sword, and was preparing to make an assault upon the town. The Persians, intimidated by the former successes and the fury of the Russians, cried out for quarter; and the Commandant, a venerable old man, of the age of one hundred and twenty years; and the same who, at the commencement of the present century, had surrendered Derbent to Peter I. came now to deliver the keys to Valerian Zouboff.

Aga Mahmed was advancing to the relief of Derbent, when he heard that the place had already fallen into the hands of the Russians. Valerian Zouboff came out to offer him battle, and victory declared in favour of the Persians, who forced their enemies to return into Derbent. Catharine, informed of this defeat, immediately issued orders for a body of troops, which she had in the Kuban, to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zouboff; and she entertained no doubt that her General would very soon vanquish Aga-Mahmed.

She also flattered herself with the hopes of obtaining a greater triumph. The new treaty

which she had just concluded with Great Britain and Austria, assured her of assistance from those two powers against Turkey. In fine, she now reckoned upon the execution of her darling project, that of driving the Ottomans out of Europe, and of reigning in Constantinople.

Had that taken place, the vast empire of Catharine would have had for its frontiers, the Thracian Bosphorus to the south, the Gulf of Bothnia to the north, the Vistula to the west, and the sea of Japan to the east.

But death deceived her hopes. On the morning of the 9th of November she was cheerful, and took her coffee as at other times. Some time after this she retired to her closet; at the expiration of half an hour, her waiting women, not seeing her return, began to be alarmed. They entered, and found her stretched on the parquet, with her feet against the door. Dr. John Rogerson, her Majesty's first physician, was sent for immediately; who, judging it to be a fit of apoplexy, ordered her twice to be let blood. The Empress at first appeared to be somewhat relieved; but she was unable to utter a single word, and at ten o'clock in the evening she expired.

The Grand Duke was at his country-palace of Gatschina: a messenger was sent off to apprise him of his mother's danger. He repaired to Petersburg; and at the instant she breathed her last, was proclaimed Emperor, by the name of Paul I.

We shall not attempt to paint in new colours the character of Catharine II. The history we have now written sufficiently displays that. We will only add a few words on her person, which has been scarcely spoken of before.

The Empress had been handsome in her youth;

and, to the last period of her life, she retained gracefulness and Majesty. She was of moderate stature, but well proportioned; and, as she carried her head very high, she appeared tall. Her countenance was open, her nose aquiline; she had an agreeable mouth, and her chin, though long, was not ugly. Her hair was auburn, her eyebrows black, and rather thick; and her blue eyes* had a gentle sweetness, which was often affected, but oftener still displaced by pride. Her physiognomy was not devoid of expression; but that expression little discovered what was passing in her soul; or rather it served the better to disguise her interested purposes.

The Empress was usually dressed in the Russian manner. She wore a green gown, † rather short in front, forming a kind of vest, with close sleeves, reaching to the wrist. Her hair, slightly powdered, flowed upon her shoulders, and was surmounted by a small cap, covered with diamonds. In the latter years of her life she put on a great deal of rouge; for she was still careful to prevent the impressions of time from being discoverable on her countenance; and it was not, perhaps, on any other account that she lived with the greatest temperance. ‡

* Several persons who have lived at the Court of that Princess affirm, that Catharine II. had very blue eyes, and not brown, as said by M. Rulhieres.

† Green is the favourite colour of the Russians. Several of their uniforms are green.

‡ She made but a light breakfast, ate moderately at dinner, and never supped. When she read in foreign prints, that she had a dropsy and a scirrhus complaint, and that she could not live long, she affected to laugh at it; but, notwithstanding, she was secretly hurt at it.

TITLES OF THE EMPRESS.

Catharine II. Empress of Russia, and Autocratix of all the Russias, of Moscow. of Kioff, Wolodimir, Nowogorod; Czarina of Kasan, Czarina of Astrakhan, Czarina of Siberia, Czarina of Tauris Chersonese; Lady of Pleskaw, and Grand Duchess Smolensko; Duchess of Esthionia, Livonia, Karelia, Twer, Ingria, Permia, Wiatka, Bulgaria, and other countries; Lady and Grand Duchess of Nowogorod, of interior Czernigovia, of Rissan, Poloczko, Rostow, Jaroslaw, Belo, Oseria, Udoria, Abdoria, Kondinia, Wilespek, Matislaw; Sovereign of all the north; Lady of Iveria, and Hereditary Princess and Sovereign of the Czars of Cartalinia and Georgia, likewise of Carbadinia, of the Princes of Czircassia, of Gonski, and others.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

WE promised to give a detail of the largesses received by Catharine's favourites. The following is such as was given to us by persons well informed of the presents bestowed upon them :

	Roubles.
The five brothers ORLOFF received 45,000 peasants ; and lands, palaces, jewels, plate, and money, the whole amounting to - -	17,000,000
WISSENSKY, Officer of the Guards, about two months in favour - - - - -	300,000
WASSIELITSCHIKOFF, Lieutenant only of the Guards, received, in 22 months that he was in favour,	
An estate with 7000 peasants upon it, estimated at - - - - -	600,000
In money - - - - -	100,000
In jewels - - - - -	60,000
In plate - - - - -	50,000
A palace furnished - - - - -	100,000
A pension of 20,000 roubles per annum, nearly	200,000
	Total 1,100,000

The Order of St. Alexander Newsky.

POTEMKIN received, in the two first years, about nine millions.

He afterwards accumulated immense riches. He had great estates in Poland, and in all the provinces of Russia. One of his book-

			Roubles.
cases was full of gold, diamonds, and bank-			
notes of London, Amsterdam, and Venice.			
His fortune was estimated at	-	-	50,000,000
<hr/>			
ZAWADOFFSKY received, in 18 months, es-			
tates in Poland with 2000 peasants, in the			
Ukraine with 6000, and in Russia with 1800.			
These estates were valued at	—	—	1,000,000
He received in money	—	—	150,000
In plate	—	—	50,000
In jewels	—	—	80,000
In a pension of the Cabinet of 10,000 roubles			
a-year	—	—	100,000
<hr/>			
	Total		1,380,000
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The Ribbon of the White Eagle of Poland.			
ZORITZ received, in one year, the Ribbon of			
the Order of the Sword of Sweden, and that			
of the White Eagle of Poland.			
An estate in Poland, of	—	—	500,000
One in Livonia, of 50 haaks	—	—	100,000
A Commandery in Poland, produced 12,000			
roubles yearly, valued at	—	—	120,000
In money	—	—	500,000
In jewels	—	—	200,000
<hr/>			
	Total		1,420,000
<hr/>			
KORZAKOFF received, in 16 months, the Rib-			
bon of the White Eagle of Poland, the			
Palace of Wasielitschikoff, redeemed for			
him	—	—	100,000
An estate with 4000 peasants	—	—	400,000
In money and jewels	—	—	150,000
The liquidation of his debts	—	—	100,000
To fit him out for travelling	—	—	100,000
Gratification while on his travels	—	—	70,000
<hr/>			
	Total		920,000
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LANSKOI received, in estates or money	—	—	3,000,000
In diamonds	—	—	80,000
To pay his debts	—	—	80,000
A palace estimated at	—	—	100,000
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	Total		3,260,000
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Roubles.

His sister and his cousin were, besides, admitted into the number of maids of honour to the Empress, and received many presents not detailed in this account.

YERMOLOFF received, in 16 months, the Ribbon of the White Eagle of Poland,

An estate valued at	—	—	100,000
Another with 3000 peasants	—	—	300,000
In money	—	—	150,000
Total			550,000

MOMONOFF received, in 26 months, in estates	—	—	600,000
In money	—	—	200,000
In jewels	—	—	80,000
Total			880,000

PLATO ZOUBOFF was decorated with the title of Prince, and with several ribbons, and appointed Grand Master of the Artillery. He received large estates in Russia, in Poland, and in Courland. His fortune, without comprehending moveables and jewels, amounts to about 100,000 roubles per annum, and consequently valued at

—	—	2,500,000
His moveables and his jewels	—	200,000
Total		2,700,000

VALERIAN ZOUBOFF received great sums in money, estates in Poland and in Courland, and a pension of 12,000 roubles, payable in gold. The whole may be estimated at

800,000

To these gifts we must add the expenditure of the favourite, set down at 1,250,000 roubles per annum, which, during the 34 years of the reign of Catharine II. amounts to

8,500,000

Sum total 88,820,000

Such was Catharine's generosity towards her lovers!

No. II.

WE have so often narrated the wars and the conquests of Catharine II that we cannot omit an account of the forces of her empire, and all the means which she possessed, independent of her policy and talents, for establishing and extending her power. Here follows then a concise statement.

ARMY.

In 1794 the Russian army was composed of eight divisions, each of 50,000 men ; and these divisions had their particular Generals.

1. The division of FINLAND, commanded by the Prince of Anhalt relation to the Empress.

2. The division of LIVONIA, commanded by Field marshal Iwan Soltikoff.

3. The division of Moscow, commanded by General Prozoroffsky.

4. The division of WHITE RUSSIA, under the orders of General Mikelson, conqueror of the rebel Pugatscheff.

5. The division of the UKRAINE, commanded by Field-marshal Souwaroff Rimmniksky.

6. The division of CAUCASUS, under the orders of General Ghoudowitch, who dispossessed the Turks of the fortresses of Anapa and of Soudjouk kale.

7. The division of OUFA, commanded by General Reck, having under him General Chardon, an Avignonese, a skilful engineer.

8. The division of SIBERIA, commanded by General Strandmann, an officer of merit.

	Men.
'These eight divisions were supposed to form a regular army of — — —	400,000
The artillery, of which the favourite Plato Zouboff was Grand Master, reckoned about —	30,000
Three regiments of foot-guards, and a regiment of horse-guards — — —	10,000
The Cosacs of the Don, the Tartars of Taurida, the Kalmouks, and several other hordes, furnished, in irregular troops, nearly — — —	120,000
Total of the army	550,000

This army was completed by the recruits which the proprietors of estates were obliged to furnish; sometimes by levying one man upon every 500 of their peasants, sometimes upon 300, sometimes on 100.*

* In the Turkish war before last, it happened that one man out of thirty-five was once taken, to recruit the army of Marshal Romanzoff. This method of recruiting, so convenient to the Empress, was very ruinous to the empire, and drew on horrible abuses. The officers charged with levying recruits, after stripping naked all the men presented to them, cut the hair off behind from those they rejected, and the hair over the forehead of those whom they accepted. They selected only sound men, exempt from all corporeal defect; but by means of a trifling bribe, they were made to receive such as the masters wished to get rid of, and who were often unable to bear the fatigues of travelling. Besides, the masters were obliged to give a certain sum of money to these recruits; the relations almost always added something to this sum; and all this was put into the officer's hands, whose interest it was that the recruits should not join the army, that he might keep what was entrusted to his charge. Wherefore, he fed them so badly, and fatigued them so much, that sometimes not more than a third reached the place of their destination. A person well informed on this head has declared it to be a fact, that of 60,000 men raised in a district, to recruit the army of Prince Potemkin, 1800 alone were able to join that army.

NAVY.

The fleet of the BALTIC was established by Peter I. at Petersburg, at Cronstadt, and at Reval.

In 1793, this fleet was composed of 34 ships of the line,* and 12 frigates.

In 1794, Admiral Pawlichen conducted from Archangel to Cronstadt † six ships of the line and four frigates.

Total { 40 ships of the line.
 { 16 frigates.

There were, besides these, several bomb-ketches, chaloups, cutters, and other small vessels.

The galley fleet of the Baltic consisted of near 400 in number, which were mostly gun-boats.

The fleet of the EUXINE, or Black Sea, established by Peter I. was but of little consequence until the time when Prince Potemkin took possession of the Krimea.

In 1793, there were at Sevastopol and Adjibey, ‡ under the orders of Admiral Ouschakoff, eight ships of the line, from 66 to 74 guns, and twelve frigates, from 36 to 40 guns. ||

* There were a greater number; but we speak only of such as were fit for sea.

† The ships built in the ports of the Baltic are of oak; and those which come from Archangel, of meleze, or larch-timber.

‡ Adjibey is a harbour newly constructed for large ships, between Oczakoff and the Dniester.

|| Almost all the cannons were brass.

At Nicolayeff and at Adji Der *, 200 chebecs, gun-boats, and other oared vessels.

The squadron of the CASPIAN was established by the Czar Alexis Michaelowitch, the father of Peter I.

In 1793 it was composed of three frigates, a bomb-ketch, and five corvettes.

EXPENCES.

	Roubles.
The support of the army costs something less than — — — — —	6,000,000
That of the navy about — — —	1,500,000
All the other ordinary expences amount to — — —	3,500,000
Total	<u>11,000,000</u>

REVENUES.

	Roubles.
The revenues of Russia, proceeding from the capitation, the tributes, the produce of the mines, the imposts on merchandize, from monopolies, &c. amount to — — —	32,500,000
From Taurida and Caucasus — — —	3,000,000
From Poland, about — — —	7,000,000
From Courland, about — — —	2,000,000
Total of the revenues	<u>45,000,000</u>

A surplus, then, of revenue remained of 34,000,000 of roubles, which was employed to the maintenance of the tribunals, the various

* Adji-Der is at the mouth of the Liman and the Dniester.

establishments, in pensions, in entertainments, in presents, and all extraordinary expences. It was not sufficient, however, for Catharine II. since she frequently raised loans in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and other countries.

No. III.ABOLITION OF THE MESSAGES RELATIVE TO FAMILY
EVENTS BETWEEN SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.

THE King of Sweden thought it his duty, on occasion of the marriage recently contracted, to give a Princess,* who is his relation and his ally, the same mark of attention which he has already given to their Prussian and Danish Majesties, to whom he is equally attached by the bonds of amity and good neighbourhood. It is then with the greatest astonishment, that his Majesty has seen that the Empress of Russia has, in no respect, answered this attention. The King has, in consequence, resolved not to receive in future any of those private missions which have relation to family events, and which have hitherto been customary between the two Courts, but which the King has now abolished for ever.

* The Empress of Russia.

No. IV.

ACT OF SURRENDER FROM COURLAND, SEMIGALLIA,
AND THE CIRCLE OF PILTEN, TO THE EMPRESS OF
RUSSIA.

I. **WE** submit ourselves, for ourselves and our posterity, and the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, to her Imperial Majesty, Catharine II. Empress of all the Russias, gloriously reigning, and to her sovereign sceptre.

II. We know by experience the great detriment of the feudal system, by which we were attached to the sovereignty of Poland, and how greatly it withstood the general prosperity of the country. We imitate our ancestors of that part of Livonia, on the other side of the Dwina, who, in 1561, renouncing the supremacy of the Emperor and of the empire, and consequently the feudal system of that time, and the mediate government of the Teutonic order, submitted themselves immediately to Poland. We renounce, both for ourselves and our posterity, the feudal system which has subsisted hitherto under the Polish supremacy, and the mediate government resulting therefrom. We submit ourselves immediately to her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and to her sceptre. We resign into her hands, with the more confidence and respect, the more particular decision of our future lot, as her said Majesty has hitherto shewn herself the generous protectress and guarantee of all our rights, of our laws, of our customs, of our immunities, of our privileges,* and of our possessions. She

* Witness when the Russian army re-instated Biren by open force.

will certainly be disposed, pursuant to her magnanimous and benevolent way of thinking, to ameliorate, in her maternal solicitude, the future lot of a country, which submits itself to her with the most respectful as well as the most unlimited confidence.

III. A deputation of six persons shall go to Petersburg, to solicit her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias to accept of our submission ; and in that case, to take there, before her Imperial Majesty, the oath of fidelity and obedience.



No. V.

THE FORMULA OF THE INDIVIDUAL OATH EXACTED
FROM THE LITHUANIANS AND THE POLES.

‘ I —, promise and swear to God Almighty, by his holy gospel, to be always ready to serve, faithfully and loyally, her I. M. the Most Serene Empress, Grand Lady, Catharine Alexiowna, Autocratrix of all the Russias, and her well-beloved son, Grand Duke Paul Petrowitz, her lawful successor; to go for that intent to give up my life, and to shed the last drop of my blood; to render due and perfect obedience to the commands already issued, or hereafter to issue, from the authorities constituted by her; to fulfil and maintain them to the best of my power conscientiously; to contribute, with all my strength, to the maintenance of the peace and tranquillity which H. M. has established in my country; and to have no communication or intelligence whatever with the disturbers of that tranquillity, either mediately or immediately, publicly or privately, either by actions or by counsel, let whatever particular occasion, circumstance, or cause lead to it.

‘ If, on the contrary, any thing prejudicial to the interests of her I. M. or to the general welfare, should come to my knowledge, I will not only strive to remove it at the time, but I will oppose it with all my might, to hinder its coming to pass. I will so conduct myself in all my actions as it becomes a faithful citizen to conduct himself towards the authorities which

H. M. has set over me; as I must answer for it to God, and at his terrible judgment. So may God help me, as well in body as in soul !

‘ In confirmation of the profession I have made by this oath, I kiss the holy word and the cross of my Saviour.’

FINIS.
